









# THE JOURNAL

OF

CONTENTS

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# RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

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1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, fac-similes, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more

Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall have power to elect from among their Members a Standing Committee for the management of the ordinary business of the Society, such Standing Committee not to exceed twelve in number, of whom one-fourth shall retire annually,

but shall be eligible for re-election if they continue Members of the Council.

8. The Standing Committee shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

9. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Committee, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

10. Three Members of the Committee, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

11. All questions before the Standing Committee shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

12. The Council shall meet twice in each year to determine all questions which may be referred to them by the Standing Committee or by Members, and to prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to a General Meeting of the Society.

13. At these meetings of the Council the Standing Committee shall submit to them a Report of their proceedings since the last meeting of the Council, and the Treasurer shall also submit an abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure during the same interval.

14. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

15. Members of Council shall at all times have free access to the Minutes of Meetings of the Standing Committee.

16. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

17. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined.

18. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society in a General Meeting.

19. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting.

20. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting.

21. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

22. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the General Meetings, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

23. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

24. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least one fortnight before the Annual Meeting.

25. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual General Meeting.

26. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual General Meeting.

27. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Standing Committee, and at their next Meeting the Committee shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

28. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £10 10s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

29. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Standing Committee make an order to the contrary.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

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THE JOURNAL

HELLENIC STUDIES



## HELLENIC STUDIES.<sup>1</sup>

### AN INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

I HAVE been called upon to take the chair at this first meeting of the Society which professes to have for its object the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. Now by Hellenic Studies we do not mean merely the study of Greek texts, grammars, and lexicons. It is generally acknowledged that, besides the printed texts of the ancient Greek authors, and the commentaries of the scholiasts on these texts, many other sources of Hellenic Study are opening up every day. The monuments of the Greeks, their architecture, sculpture, and other material remains, deserve our study not less than the texts of the classics, and we must bear in mind that the history of the Hellenic language itself may be traced for at least twenty-five centuries, and that between the Greek speech of the present day, and the first utterances of the early Greek poets, there is a connection which, though not obvious to the common observer, may be as clearly demonstrated by science as the connection between the flora of the geologist and the living flora of the botanist of to-day. In order to trace out this connection, we must not regard the language of the ancient Greeks alone; we must study the Byzantine literature, as well as the Greek language still current in the mouths of the peasants, and we must also

<sup>1</sup> Address delivered at the Inaugural Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, June 16,

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study their existing manners and customs. The space of time, therefore, over which our Hellenic Studies may range, may be computed as about twenty-five centuries, or perhaps something more. The province of this Society has next to be limited geographically. After much consideration I have come to the conclusion that our proper geographical limitation is that which has been followed in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* of Böckh. In that great work he includes Greek inscriptions, *wherever* they may be found, not only in Hellas itself, but outside the Mediterranean, and beyond the Pillars of Hercules. And therefore I think that as we study Greek inscriptions *wherever* they are found, whether in Greece, Italy, Sicily, or elsewhere so we may study the Greek monuments and language wherever these are to be met with. Now as to the chronological range of our subject, I have already said that it extends over at least twenty-five centuries. It will be convenient to consider this space of time as divided into three periods. There will be first the Ancient period, terminating with the downfall of paganism; then the Byzantine period down to the taking of Constantinople in 1453; and then what I will call the Neo-Hellenic period. And now I would call your attention to the very great and growing interest of the Greek inscriptions of the Ancient period, an interest which not only the modern Greeks, but all civilised races possessing, or desiring to possess, free institutions, must feel. We learn from these inscriptions how the Greeks governed their communities; what was their system of public accounts; what were the forms of procedure in their legislative and judicial administration; what were the relations between the ministers of their religion and the State, and how the State undertook to administer the property consecrated to religious uses. The study of Greek epigraphy is being rapidly developed by the discovery of fresh inscriptions, and by the combined labour of a number of scholars in Germany and France. With regard to Greek art its interest is so universally acknowledged that it is hardly necessary for me to dwell on this branch of our subject. We all know that without the illustration of ancient art the texts of the classics lose half their force and meaning. The architecture, the sculpture, the coins, the fictile vases, and the other antiquities of the Hellenic race are, when rightly understood, a most precious and reliable

commentary on the extant writings of the ancients. I will not, therefore, detain you with further remarks on the importance of this branch of our subject, but I will pass on to the Byzantine period, which we have next to consider. It must be confessed that to the mind of the ordinary Englishman this Byzantine period does not present much attraction. Neither its literature nor its monuments have the beauty of the ancient Greek literature and art, nor are they invested with the same glory of historical associations. On the other hand, to the earnest student of antiquity, Byzantine literature and Byzantine art have a peculiar interest. The monasteries of the Levant are full of Greek MSS., which have as yet been very imperfectly explored. Who shall say what interesting matter may be found in these repositories on which the dust of many centuries has gathered undisturbed? Perhaps we ought not to be very sanguine as to the chance of finding in these libraries texts of lost classics, though such discoveries are still within the limits of possibility; but what we may find buried in obscure monasteries are Greek lexicons and scholiasts full of instruction to the scholar. These Byzantine lexicons assist very materially in the interpretation of Greek inscriptions; it is now clear that Hesychius and other Byzantine lexicographers consulted not only ancient authors, but the texts of inscriptions which had been transcribed and collected by ancient epigraphists, such as Polemon, surnamed Stelokopas. Further, in these monastic libraries will probably be found Biblical and Patristic MSS., which have hitherto escaped notice, as was the case with that Epistle of St. Clement recently discovered in the library of the Patriarch at Constantinople, which has been published by Bishop Lightfoot. Moreover, we may expect to find in the monasteries many valuable documents relating to the history of the Byzantine Empire and of the Eastern Church. My old friend, Mr. Finlay, has shown us the value of such materials in his excellent *History of the Byzantine Empire*, since the publication of which many new documents have come to light. We cannot study these documents too attentively, and among them I would include those which relate to the Frank domination in the Levant. Unless we are acquainted with the many invasions and revolutions to which various parts of the Byzantine Empire were from time to time subjected during the Middle Ages, we

cannot understand the complication of causes which have reduced these fair countries to their present condition. Nor should we forget that the architectural remains of the Byzantine period are not less worthy to be preserved and studied than their literary documents. There are many examples of Byzantine architecture which deserve to be better known. Many English travellers have seen St. Sophia at Constantinople, but how few have seen that curious Byzantine church there, now known as the Cachreye Djumusi, or the ancient churches at Salonica, or the portraits of Byzantine emperors at Trebizond.

After considering Byzantine literature and Byzantine art, we come to the third and last phase of Greek history—what I call the Neo-Hellenic period, from the taking of Constantinople in 1453 to the present day. In this period the main interest centres in tracing out the history of the Greek language itself. In order to understand how it has been gradually modernized and moulded into its present form, we must trace back its phases up to that period in the Middle Ages when rhyme was substituted for the ancient metres, and when no doubt a great change in the rhythm of the language took place.

Through the centuries of Byzantine and Turkish rule, many barbarous and foreign words crept in, which have been gradually eliminated by the efforts of enlightened teachers since the recovery of Greek independence. The first Englishman who called attention to the language and literature of the Neo-Hellenic period was the late Colonel Leake, who did more for the illustration of Greek Archaeology than any English traveller in the Levant. In his *Researches in Greece*, published in 1814, he gives an elementary grammar of the modern language and a list of authors of the Neo-Hellenic period.

Since his time many new sources of information have been opened up, through the action of learned societies in Athens and elsewhere, and through the publication of learned periodicals in the modern Greek language. In these journals are to be found many lists of extant provincial dialects, and the phenomena which these dialects present are exceedingly interesting to the philologist. They show that in many cases very early forms and words have survived in the speech of the peasantry, though hardly a trace of them remains in the literary language. This work of collecting and studying the provincial dialects is one

which might be carried much further by the co-operation of travellers, and by the agency of such a society as ours. Closely connected with the study of provincial dialects is the subject of the manners and customs of the Greek peasantry, and their popular legends. The excellent work recently published by Mr. Tozer affords much information in this field of research.

This then, as I conceive, is the subject-matter with which our Society has to deal. As it is to be composed partly of English and partly of Hellenic members, it will be easy for them to co-operate towards one common end by following their respective lines. The Englishman often travels with great advantages, such as the power of visiting out-of-the-way places in a yacht; on the other hand the native traveller being more familiar with the language and ways of his countrymen, and being passed on from village to village by letters of introduction, has often facilities for exploring districts which foreigners have not. These two classes of travellers may do much in collecting matter of interest to this Society. There are, besides, scattered over many unexplored parts of Greece and Turkey, many poor, but intelligent, Greek schoolmasters and priests, who have already done much for the preservation and transcribing of ancient inscriptions, and would with encouragement do very much more; and, considering the extensive mercantile connection between this country and the Levant, I feel sure that the Greek commercial houses in England might be of great assistance in helping us to find out intelligent correspondents and contributors among their countrymen.

With reference to the MSS. in the Greek monasteries, I think that increased facilities for examining them could be best obtained by inducing the Greek Hierarchy to take an interest in this matter. At present, when a foreign traveller arrives at a Greek monastery, frugal hospitality is always accorded to him, but if he asks to see MSS. the request generally awakens more or less distrust. But I feel that many doors of monastic libraries, at which ordinary travellers might knock in vain, would open readily if a pressure, a very gentle pressure, were applied by a Greek Patriarch. It would be an undertaking worthy of this Society, to organise a scheme of searching more thoroughly the convents in the Levant. Not merely those which lie on the highways of travellers, but those which are only to be reached

through the bye-ways, could be gradually explored, and a sort of general schedule made of their libraries. After that we might follow up these researches by publishing some of the more remarkable documents which might be thus brought to light. And with a view to such publication we hope to issue periodically a journal something on the plan of the *Annuaire* of the French Association *pour l'Encouragement des Études Grecques*, which is yearly published in the form of a well-grown 8vo volume. We cannot hope that our publication at the outset will emulate in bulk the French *Annuaire*. We must first ascertain what amount of annual subscriptions we can reckon on, and regulate the cost of our publications accordingly; but let us hope that, if such a journal is once begun, it will be vigorously maintained and nourished, and not allowed to dwindle away into atrophy, as has been the fate of so many learned periodicals in this country, though undertaken under promising auspices. I will not detain you longer except to say thus much. You will observe that I have carefully avoided all allusion in my address to politics. I have spoken as if there was no Eastern Question at all. I have done so in the hope that this Society will form a neutral ground, on which Englishmen and Greeks may in the interest of learning co-operate without coming into collision on account of political differences.

I see no reason why this Society should not include not only Hellenists who are avowed Phil-Hellenes, but also those Englishmen who, though they decline to call themselves Phil-Hellenes, have a just claim to be considered Hellenists, and have in that capacity an earnest wish to promote the objects which this Society has in view.

C. T. NEWTON.

## DELOS.

The island of Delos is rather less than four miles long from north to south, with a greatest breadth of about a mile and a half. In its midst the granite platform of Cynthus rises to a height of some 350 feet above the sea-level. From the summit of Cynthus, looking westward, there is a view of rare beauty and surpassing interest. The narrow plain which extends along the western shore of the island was once covered by the ancient town of Delos. Near its middle point, a little to our right, and not far from the principal harbour, stood the temple of Apollo, with a cluster of sacred buildings surrounding it, in the brightness of Parian marble. The larger island of Rheneia, separated from Delos by a channel with an average breadth of half a mile, lies parallel with it on the west, but projects beyond it on the north, —veiling it from those who approach in a straight course from Syra. The two islets in this strait between Delos and Rheneia are now called *Rhymatiari* (ῥευματίρια), ‘the channel isles’; the largest and southernmost once bore the name of *Hecate*, being the place where the women of Delos made their offerings of cakes to that goddess.

Look over Rheneia to the west: around us, beyond broad spaces of clear blue sea, the inner circle of the Cyclades rise in that marvellous harmony of clear contour with subtle blending of colour which is distinctive of Aegean scenery. There is Syra (the ‘isle Syria’ of the *Odyssey*) in front, to the west,—a long dark line, with the conical hill above its busy port, Hermopolis, strongly marked;—to the right of Syra, in the north-west background, a glimpse of Gyaros,—one of the two islands (Myconos being the other) to which the legend said that floating Delos was made fast: on our right, to the north,

rugged Tenos springs blutly from the waves, its shoulder blocking Andros out of sight in the far north-west. Turn to the east—there is Myconos, hospitable in this century to the Greek exiles of Psara, a huge granite rock with a town nestling on an arable slope,—some two miles and a half away : and then in the south-east, about twenty miles off, the great island of Naxos, once the foremost of the Cyclades, whose early school of art has left traces here in Delos ; next to it, to the south-west, its lesser neighbour, Paros, the mine of marble,—once, in Roman days, protectress of this island ; between Naxos and Paros, a gleam of Ios, where old Greece said that Homer lay buried ; and, remote in the south-west distance, little Seriphos, and Siphnos, in all ages nursing mother of seamen ; just beyond it—though unseen from here—is Melos. As we look out on this wide sea-view, the past lives again ; the ‘Songs of Deliverance’ (*ῥύσια*) are once more floating on the breeze as the ships bear the sacred envoys to Delos ; but, of all ancient memories, there is one which rises more vividly than the rest. In that north-west opening between Syra and Tenos we can see the sacred ship from Athens moving into the waters of the Cyclades : yesterday the Athenian priest of Apollo crowned it in the Peiræus ; to-day an Athenian court has passed sentence of death on Socrates : the ship will come into the harbour at our feet, the envoys will approach the temple beneath us with chants of praise to the giver of light and health, they will stay here in the summer sunshine of the holy month, while Socrates is waiting in the prison at Athens for their return, and is speaking words of good hope for the soul in that voyage on which it must soon put forth over the untried sea.

The position of Delos is central in a threefold sense. First, it is indeed what Callimachus called it, the Hearth of the Cyclades.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, it is nearly at the centre of the southern Aegean, equally accessible from Greece Proper and from Asiatic Hellas, from Rhodes and Crete on the south, from Chios and Lesbos on the north. Thirdly, if our survey embraces the most distant regions to which early Greece sent out its colonies, or to which Greek civilisation was carried by the conquests of Alexander, Delos is still approximately at the mid-point of this

<sup>1</sup> ἱστῆν ὧ νήσων : *Hymn. Del.* 325.

Greater Hellas. It is a holy spot on which offerings might well converge—as it is known that they did—from Syria and from Sicily, from Egypt and from Italy, from the Marseilles to which Phocæan settlers had brought the fire of Ionian gods, and from that far place by the Inhospitable Sea where, as tradition told, priests from Delos itself had established the rites of the Tauric Artemis on the bleak shores of the Crimea.

This Sacred Island of the old world has been attended by a singular destiny. Delos emerges into the light of history as the seat of a worship distinctively Hellenic, yet embodying relics of older faiths. The story of Delos ceases when that Hellenic worship perishes. The modern life of Arachova and Salona has crept up to the very doors of the silent adyton in the cliff at Delphi. The plain of Olympia can show the ruins of a Byzantine church in close neighbourhood to the temples of Zeus and Hera. But since the days when the Emperor Julian, going to fight and fall in the East, sought counsel from the failing accents of the god who still haunted Delos, this rock, the birthplace of Apollo, has been only his grave. The Sibylline verse said—

ἔσται καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος, ἐσείται Δῆλος ἄδηλος—

Samos also shall be sand; the Far-seen Isle shall be obscure :<sup>1</sup>

and, for Delos, it has come true enough. No famous place could be named which is at once so conspicuously and so exclusively identified with the Hellenic past.

The topography of ancient Delos is not known in detail from any extant work. When Strabo wrote (circ. 18 A.D.), Delos had already entered on the period of decadence: he merely mentions a few of the leading facts in its history. Pausanias (160 A.D.) seems never to have visited it: in his day it was deserted by all but the priests. His passing notices do little more than attest its decay. Probably the guides in Greece Proper (and we know how much he was in their hands) told him that there was little to see in the island. As it is, we have to form our idea of ancient Delos from scattered hints in Greek and

<sup>1</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 363, ed. C. Alexandre. Samos lost its privileges as a free state in the reign of Vespasian; and the decay of its ancient prosperity seems to have commenced about the

end of the first century A.D. Tertullian paraphrases this verse (*de pallio* 2, *inter insulas nulla iam Delos, harenæ Sams*), which must therefore be older than about 200 A.D.

Roman literature, from the Homeric hymn to the writings of the Christian Fathers. Our modern authorities date from the opening of the fifteenth century. Cyriac of Ancona, who travelled in the East between 1412 and 1447, collected several inscriptions in Delos, as in other islands of the Aegean. He appears to have seen there a large quantity of ancient marbles: at Myconos he saw Delian monuments which had been brought thither for sale. His contemporary, Bondelmonte, whose journeys belonged to the years 1414–1422, notices ‘an ancient temple in the plain,’ ‘a prostrate statue of vast size’ (*idolum quod in tanta magnitudine iacet*—the Naxian colossus of Apollo), and ‘more than a thousand statues here and there.’ After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453), even these slight remains were rapidly destroyed or exported. The lower parts of Delos are covered with lime-kilns, which were actively employed as lately as 1820. Marble statues or slabs, which could be easily broken, were the first victims of the kilns. Then other relics followed, until scarcely a whole stone remained, except what had been buried under layers of earth accumulated upon the ancient soil. The scanty salvage from this general wreck had passed into the hands of Western collectors before the end of the sixteenth century. Wealthy Venetians obtained probably the largest share of such prizes. A few waifs and strays found their way to England.<sup>1</sup>

Spon’s account of Delos (1676) indicates that he saw little more than is to be seen at the present day. He tells a story of a proveditore at Tenos, who, baffled in an attempt to remove the colossus of Apollo, had sawed off a piece of the face as a souvenir. The church of Tenos, it may be remarked, is built of old materials brought from Delos. The German traveller Ross (1835) states that the Turks were in the habit of resorting to Delos for marbles with which to make their turbaned tombstones. The first accurate map of Delos was that published in his *Voyage du Levant* (1727) by Tournefort. Stuart and Revett

<sup>1</sup> Two marbles, now at Oxford, bear inscriptions of which the origin has hitherto been doubtful: one (*Corp. Insc. Gr.* 2860), a list of gifts to Apollo, was attributed by Böckh to Ephesus; the other (*C. I. G.* 2953 b), containing the accounts of a temple called the Artem-

ision, was ascribed by Böckh to Ephesus, by Corsini to Smyrna. M. Homolle has shown that the first certainly, the second presumably, belongs to Delos (*Bulletin de Corr. hellén.* vol. ii. p. 321 f.).

(1810) added measurements and details relative to some of the remains. Leake spent only a few hours at Delos (1806), and could do little more than verify the observations of predecessors. A thorough exploration of the Sacred Island may be said to have commenced with the labours of the scientific Commission sent to the Morea by the French Government (1829). One of its members, M. Blouet, accurately delineated that portion of Delos, between Mount Cynthus and the western shore, in which the principal temples were situated. Ulrichs (1863) supplied many details relating to the ancient harbours and to the arrangements of commerce. In 1873 M. J. Albert Lebégue, a member of the French School of Athens, was authorised by the Minister of Public Instruction to commence excavations on Mount Cynthus, where an ancient grotto had already engaged the attention of M. Burnouf. The results of M. Lebégue's researches—to which I shall return—were published in an able monograph (1876). In 1876 M. Th. Homolle, also a member of the French School, was commissioned by its Director, M. Dumont, to visit Delos, and in 1877 commenced excavations on the site of the temple of Apollo in the plain—that part of the island which M. Blouet had carefully described. It was in the summer of 1878—the second year of M. Homolle's researches—that I enjoyed the advantage of seeing the excavations, on Cynthus and on the plain, under his kind and instructive guidance. The task to be attempted in these pages is one which, so far as I am aware, has not yet been performed, but for which the materials already accumulated are sufficiently abundant.<sup>1</sup> I shall endeavour to give a brief but systematic account of the

<sup>1</sup> They are principally these:—*Expédition scientifique de Morée*, edited by M. Blouet (Paris, 1838); vol. iii. contains 23 plates relating to Delos, with a brief prefatory notice of the state in which the island was found.—*Recherches sur Délos*, by M. J. Albert Lebégue (Paris, 1876).—*Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*: the following articles by M. Th. Homolle, giving details of his excavations at Delos, and of inscriptions or sculptures found there:—vol. i. (1877), pp. 219, 279; vol. ii. (1878), p. 1, 397; vol. iii. (1879),

pp. 1, 99, 116, 290, 360, 473, 515; vol. iv. (1880), pp. 29, 182, 320, 345, 471: by M. O. Riemann;—vol. i. p. 81: by M. Ernest Renan;—vol. iv. p. 69.—*Monuments grecs*, No. 7 (1878), *Les Fouilles de Délos*, by M. Th. Homolle (pp. 25—63).—*La Chronologie athénienne à Délos*, by M. Albert Dumont (*Rev. archéol.* 1873, xxvi. 257).—Articles on the grotto of Cynthus, by M. Émile Burnouf (*Rev. archéol.* Aug. 8, 1873), and Hr. Adler (*Archacology. Zeitung*, ed. Curtius and Schöne, vol. viii. p. 59, May, 1875).

results attained by the labours of the French explorers in Delos up to the present time.

These results may be classified under the heads of topography, sculpture, and epigraphy. But, as might have been expected from the special conditions, it is in the province of epigraphy that the harvest has been largest. And the principal value of the inscriptions consists in the light thrown on details in the history and administration of the island. It follows, however, from the complex relations of Delos that these details are seldom of merely local import, and that in numerous instances they are significant for the general history of the Hellenic or Roman world.

I believe that the best way of presenting these epigraphic results will be to exhibit them in chronological sequence. I shall first, therefore, sketch the story of Delos from the dawn to the close of its ancient life, inserting in the proper place each new fact derived from the inscriptions.

The Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo is the oldest document for the history of the island. The earliest historical fact is that Delos was the seat of a Pan-Ionic festival. But mythology has something to tell. Three leading facts may be gathered from the myths. First, that the Hellenic sanctity of Delos was derived from a pre-Hellenic antiquity; secondly, that various races and cults had left their traces in the island; thirdly, that these older elements were partly displaced, partly absorbed, by a cult which came to Delos from Asia Minor, and which, fostered by Ionians on both shores of the Aegean, grew to be the worship of the Delian Apollo.

The *Iliad* never mentions Delos: but in the *Odyssey* Odysseus compares Nausicaa, flower of maidens, to the young sapling of a palm-tree which he had seen in Delos, springing up beside the altar of Apollo.<sup>1</sup> He had seen it, he says, when he visited Delos, and much people with him, on that journey which was to bring him sore troubles. This leads us directly to the most suggestive of the Delian legends—that which concerns Anios.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* vi. 162.

<sup>2</sup> M. Lebégue (p. 225) has collected the ancient sources for the myth.

Virgil (*Aen.* iii. 80) marks the essential point,—that Anios is ‘rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.’

Anios figures as the son of Apollo, and as his prophet at Delos. He receives the host of Agamemmen on their way across the Aegean. After the fall of Troy, he gives a hospitable welcome to Aeneas. Anios has three daughters,—Oeno, Spermo, Elaïs. These, by grace of Dionysos, command the gifts of wine, corn, and oil. Collectively they are called *οἰνοτρόποι*.—apparently with special reference to the faculty of the eldest, since she could turn water into wine.<sup>1</sup> This legend of Anios seems to disclose a glimpse of Delos in that phase of society which the Homeric poems mirror. We see an island governed by a patriarchal priest-king. Peaceful amid wars, because sacred, it can receive Greek and Trojan alike; and it has a local cult of deities who preside over the fruits of the earth. The fact that the infant Anios reaches Euboea in a floating chest (as Perseus reaches Seriphos), and is thence carried by Apollo to Delos, has been thought by some to betray the influence of Phoenicia on the myth.<sup>2</sup> However that may be, there can be no doubt that Phoenicia was in contact with Delos from an early time; at first, through the occasional voyages of Phoenician traders,—then through the posts of Phoenician commerce in the Aegean. The quail (*ὄρνυξ*), from which Delos took the name of Ortygia, was sacred not only to the Hellenic Leto but also to the Tyrian Heracles,—a solar god, whose worship at Delos, it can scarcely be doubted, was older than that of Apollo. Asteria, another name given to Delos, appears to have been sometimes confused or identified with Astarte:<sup>3</sup> and the Syrian Aphrodite, who at a later period held a shrine in Delos, had probably been known there since the first days when the traders of Tyre had entered the waters of the Archipelago. Crete, again, has prehistoric relations with the sacred island. It is from Crete that Theseus brings to Delos the ancient wooden

<sup>1</sup> Tzetzes *ad Lycophr.* 370 (*Cycl. fragmenta*, ed. Didot, p. 593). *γεννᾷ τὰς Οἰνοτρόπους, Οἰνῷ Σπερμῷ καὶ Ἑλαΐδᾳ· αἷς δὲ Διόνυσος ἐχαρίζετο, ὅποτε βούλονται, οἶνον σπέρματα καὶ ἔλαιον ποιεῖν καὶ λαμβάνειν κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεις.* We are reminded of the name Oeneus derived from *οἶνη*, the vine-plant, his son being called *Φύτιος* (Hecataeus in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* i. 26). Can *οἰνοτρόφοι* have been

corrupted to *οἰνοτρόποι*, and the fable invented to explain the latter?

<sup>2</sup> *Ῥοιά* (*Ῥοιά*, pomegranate) is the Danae of the story, and her father *Στάφυλος* is the Acrisius (Tzetzes, *l.c.*).

<sup>3</sup> The name of Astartê is given to Delos only by Latin mythographers of the decadence (Lebégue, p. 21); but the associations which suggested it may have been very ancient.

statue of Aphrodite. Cretan traits belong to another goddess worshipped at Delos,—Eileithyia.<sup>1</sup> The connection between Delos and Egypt, though perhaps later, was at any rate old. The oval basin<sup>2</sup> (τροχοειδὴς λίμνη) at Delos recalls that of Saïs: the Delian stream called the Inopus was believed to swell with the rising of the Nile.<sup>3</sup> Among the early visitors to Delos we must not omit the Carians. The fact that part of Caria was known as Phoenice corresponds with the somewhat indeterminate use of the term 'Carian' which may be remarked in Greek writers. The Carians are 'speakers of a barbarous tongue'; and yet the Hellenic Apollo deigns to employ their language. The fact seems to be that the tribe or tribes of Hellenic origin settled in this south-west corner of the Asiatic sea-board were deeply saturated with alien and especially Semitic influences: by the other Hellenes they were not always recognised as kinsmen: and sometimes the name of 'Carian' was applied to people who were wholly non-Hellenic, especially to Phoenician settlers on that part of the coast. In early times the 'Carians' appear as pirates, clad in bronze armour, who make raids on the Aegean islands. The graves found on Delos when the Athenians exhumed the dead in 426 B.C. were chiefly Carian; and it is to the Carians that M. Lebégue would ascribe the primitive temple which he has excavated on Cynthus.<sup>4</sup>

The Hellenic period of Delos begins with the arrival of Apollo. Prophet, musician, archer, he comes with attributes lent by Lycia, Ephesus, and the Troad. The Greek legend of his birth is preserved in two hymns which represent, on the whole, an older and a later version,—the Homeric hymn to the Delian Apollo, and the hymn 'To Delos' by the Alexandrian Callimachus (circ. 260 B.C.). Setting minor discrepancies aside, we may say that the salient points of difference between the two

<sup>1</sup> Olen had composed hymns to this goddess (Paus. ix. 27, 2), in whom the character of an Hyperborean Artemis seems blended with that of a Cretan Aphrodite.

<sup>2</sup> Theognis, v. 7; Callim. *Hymn. Del.* (τροχόεσσα) 261; *In Apoll.* 59 (περιηγής): cp. Her. ii. 170.

<sup>3</sup> Callim. *l.c.* 206; Paus. ii. 5. 2. Tournefort heard a local legend that

the spring in the N.E. of Delos was fed by the Jordan. But the same thing was said also of a spring in Mykonos (Lebégue, p. 116).

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. iii. 104; Lebégue, p. 75. Carians preceded Ionians in other places which afterwards became seats of Apollo's worship—as at Tralles, Colophon, Claros, and Miletus.

versions are these:—(1) In the Alexandrian hymn, Delos is a floating isle, which becomes fixed when Leto touches it. The Homeric hymn knows nothing of this: it merely describes Delos as fearing lest it should be sunk in the depths by the spurning feet of the new-born god. The legend of a floating isle is, however, at least as old in Greece as Pindar, and is implied in the apparently ancient belief that Delos could no longer be shaken by earthquake.<sup>1</sup> (2) In the Homeric hymn, Hera is resolved to prolong the pangs of Leto even after she has reached Delos, and it is only by a ruse that the aid of Eileithyia is obtained. In the Alexandrian hymn, Hera relents as soon as Leto touches the sacred isle: the whole spirit of this later poem is one of mature reconciliation between the claims of conflicting worships. (3) In the Homeric hymn, the solar character of Apollo is seen through a transparent disguise of imagery: this radiant god who is rising on the world is swathed in white and finely woven raiment; his girdle is of gold.<sup>2</sup> In the Alexandrian hymn this origin has been obscured under the symbolism of a learned theology; if any one aspect of the god predominates, it is the prophetic. But the leading idea of both hymns is the same:—Delos shall be for ever precious to Apollo as the place of his birth.

The 'birthplace' of a god is the place where his votaries, or their informants, have first known his worship. In the case of Apollo, this place was, for the Greeks of the Asiatic seaboard, Lycia; for the Greeks of the Aegean and of the western coast, Delos. Delos was the point at which this worship, brought from Asia, first became conspicuous and familiar to this group of votaries. Other groups had other traditions: for the Cretans, Apollo was born in Crete; for the Boeotians, in Boeotia; for the Arcadians, in Arcadia. But, with regard to these three latter traditions, it may be remarked that every one of them belongs to a population detached, in the historical age, from the main current

<sup>1</sup> Πόντου θύγατερ, χθονὸς εὐρέας ἀκίνητον τέρας: Pind. *frag.* 58 (from a παιὼν προσοδιακός, a paean to be sung during the procession to Apollo's Delian temple). Her. (vi. 98) had been told at Delos of an earthquake said to have occurred there in 490 B.C. Thuc. (ii. 8) mentions another 'shortly

before' 431 B.C. Each is the first and only earthquake. The statements cannot, and need not, be reconciled. By ascribing their own tremors to their island the Delians maintained its divine prestige, and marked their recurring sense of a crisis.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 121.

of Greek beliefs and sympathies. The tradition which placed the birth of Apollo in Delos was the most widely received: indeed, its acceptance was well-nigh universal. This fact is probably connected with the political insignificance of the oracle at Delos from the beginning of the historical age. There was a good understanding between Delos and Delphi. Delos yielded the palm of prophecy to Delphi; the influence of Delphi was used to sustain the belief that Delos had a separate and unique claim to reverence as the birthplace of the god.

Artemis, like Apollo, came to Delos from Asia. The legends vary. Sometimes she appears as a native of another place. More often she is said to have been born at Delos, either as the twin-sister of Apollo or before him by one day: in the latter case she becomes the Eileithyia who delivers Leto. The brother and sister are essentially alike in this—they displace solar deities who held Delos before them, and who are either merged in them or subordinated to their worship. A solar character clearly belongs to the nymphs who come to Delos from the Hyperboreans, who figure as handmaidens of Artemis, and whose tombs are made within the precincts of her shrine,—Opis (Ὀπίς), Lexo, Arge, Hecæerge, Hyperoche. Down to late times Delos received offerings of first-fruits (ἀπαρχαί), wrapped in plaited straw (καλάμη), which were forwarded from distant temples, and which were designed to symbolize the immemorial tribute of the Hyperboreans.<sup>1</sup> There is some reason (as will be seen below) to believe that Apollo was at first co-templar on Cynthus with a solar god whom he eventually dethroned or subjected: and it would not be rash to conjecture that this god was the Tyrian Heracles. Apollo further succeeded at Delos to the oracular functions of older deities. Some of these prophetic gods were marine,—Poseidon, Glaucus, the Nereids; others were forms of Gaia and Themis. A goddess called Brizo, who sends portents in dreams, continued to be an object of popular reverence in Delos after the official cult of Apollo had been established.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 285 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Eustath. *ad Od.* xii. 252, who says that the Delian women offered dainties to Brizo: Hesych. βριζόμαντις, ἐνυπνιόμαντις. At Delphi, as M.

Lebégue notes (p. 117), divination by dreams is found in early rivalry with the oracle of Apollo (cp. Eur. *I. T.* 1250 f.): at Delos there is no trace of such a conflict.

The dawn of the historical age is now at hand. Delos has become the seat of a distinctively Hellenic worship: at the same time, in dependence on that worship, it preserves religious associations fitted to attract the veneration of visitors from the non-Hellenic East. Henceforth the history of Delos may be cast into four periods. We may call them the Early-Ionian; the Athenian; the Macedonian; and the Roman.

### I. *The Early-Ionian Period: to 478 B.C.*

The golden age of the Ionian race falls between the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians and the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by the kings of Lydia. In the absence of data for a precise chronology, we may assign the best days of Ionian predominance in the Aegean to the interval between 900 and 700 B.C. All the members of the Ionian family—in Greece Proper, in the islands, in the Asiatic settlements—were closely united by the sentiment of a common ancestry and a common worship, which formed a circle within the circle of Hellenic kinship. Apollo Patroüs was the god of all who sprang from the loins of Ion: the true ‘sons of Javan’ felt a peculiar pride in that Ionian name which, for Eastern nations, had become the universal appellative of the Hellenes. Athens was not as yet pre-eminent: Megara on one side of it, Chalcis and Eretria on the other, were at least its equals; and it may be noted that the Homeric hymn bears a slight but sure mark of its own age in the passage which speaks of ‘Euboea famed for ships.’<sup>1</sup>

Delos was the centre of a great Pan-Ionic gathering (*παν-ἰγυρίς*), to which Ionians resorted from all the islands and the coasts. It was held in the month Thargelion, on the seventh day of which (about May 20) the birth of Apollo was celebrated: and, like the later Ephesia, it was probably annual,—as the sacred embassies (*θεωραίαι*) and sacrifices certainly were from a very early time. The Homeric rhapsode of Chios has described it: ‘Many temples are thine, and wooded groves; all heights are

<sup>1</sup> τ. 30, ὅσσους Κρήτη τ' ἐντὸς ἔχει ναυσικλειτὴ τ' Εὐβοία.  
καὶ δῆμος Ἀθηνῶν, | νῆσός τ' Αἰγίνη

dear to thee, and jutting capes of lofty hills, and rivers that flow to the sea; but it is in Delos that thy heart takes most joy. There, in thy honour, Phoebus, the long-robed Ionians assemble, with their children and their gracious dames: so often as they hold thy festival, they celebrate thee, for thy joy, with boxing, and dancing, and song. A man would say that they were strangers to death and old age evermore, who should come on the Ionians thus gathered: for he would see the goodliness of all the people, and would rejoice in his soul, beholding the men and the fairly-cinctured women, and their swift ships and their great wealth; and besides, that wonder of which the fame shall not perish, the maidens of Delos, handmaidens of Apollo the Far-darter. First they hymn Apollo, then Leto and Artemis delighting in arrows; and then they sing the praise of heroes of yore and of women, and throw their spell over the tribes of men.<sup>1</sup> The Delian panegyris combined the characters of a festival and a fair: like the temple at Miletus, like the Artemision of Ephesus and the Heraeon of Samos, the Delian shrine was a focus of maritime trade. The Pan-Ionic festival at Delos had much of the celebrity to which the Olympian festival succeeded, and in two points it indicates a higher phase of society. Women participate in it; and it includes a competition in poetry (*μουσικὸς ἀγών*), whereas the literary displays at Olympia were not among the regular contests.<sup>2</sup>

The decline of the Delian festival must have begun with the gradual estrangement of the Asiatic Ionians from their brethren in the west. A softer luxury crept into the Ionian life of Asia, preparing the decline of Ionian spirit and freedom. Under the Mermnad dynasty of Lydia the process of reducing Ionia occupied some hundred and fifty years (circ. 700-550 B.C.). About the time of the Persian conquest (circ. 546 B.C.) we find the Asiatic Ionians of the twelve allied cities meeting at the Panionion on Mycale. For them, this gathering had probably

<sup>1</sup> vv. 143-161. The *Δηλιάδες* 'know how to imitate the voices of all men, and the sounds of their castanets' (*κρεμβαλιστύν*—i.e. the measures of their dances): 'each man would say that he was speaking himself, so wondrous is the weaving of their lay': *ib.* 162-165. This has been referred

to ventriloquism (?). At any rate, it suggests the variety of the elements which composed the Pan-Ionic gathering.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Lysias, Or. xxxiii. § 2, is accurate in speaking of *γνώμης ἐπιδείξειν*: cp. the note in my 'Selections from the Attic Orators,' p. 188.

superseded the Delian festival from a far earlier date.<sup>1</sup> In the age of Thucydides the *Panionia* had in turn yielded place to the *Ephesia*. But if Delos was no longer the Pan-Ionic centre, it could still look to the Ionians of the west, of whom the Athenians were now the foremost. At a later time Athens is found claiming Erysichthon, a legendary Athenian king, as the builder of the first temple at Delos.<sup>2</sup> This pretension doubtless arose at the time when the representation of the Ionian race at Delos had been left mainly to the Athenians. Peisistratus, when despot of Athens (560-527 B.C.), purified Delos, 'in accordance with the oracles' (ἐκ τῶν λογίων), by removing to another part of the island all the graves which could be seen from the temple.<sup>3</sup> A more signal act of homage is ascribed to Polycrates (circ. 550-522 B.C.), tyrant of Samos, whose naval power had given to him the empire of the Aegean islands. Having taken Rheneia, he consecrated it to the Delian Apollo, and attached it by a chain to Delos.<sup>4</sup> It was probably his object to secure a religious sanction for a naval Ionian league under Samos, which would derive both lustre and strength from a revival of the Pan-Ionic festival in the sacred island. Meanwhile Delos had been receiving the first tributes of a nascent art: the infancy of Greek sculpture—as we shall presently see—has its memorials in the birthplace of Apollo.

Nor was it by Greeks alone that Delos was revered. At the approach of the Persians in 490 B.C. the Delians fled to Tenos. But, as the fleet drew near, Datis, the Persian general, sailed ahead, and directed his ships to anchor, not at Delos, but off Rheneia. He then sent a herald to Tenos, with this message:—'Holy men (ἄνδρες ἱποί), why have ye fled away, and judged me so harshly? It hath been enjoined on me by the king,—yea, and I myself have wit enough,—not to harm the place in which the Two Gods were born,—no, nor

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the reign of Gyges, whose accession he would place about 716 B.C., Professor E. Curtius says, 'the federal festival on Delos, which had formerly united the Ionians on either side of the sea, had long lost all its significance' (vol. ii. 104, tr. Ward). For Thucydides, the festival already belongs to a past age, of which

'Homer' is the chief witness (iii. 104).

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *Chron.* ii. (sub ann. 500 after Abraham); other accounts make him merely erect a statue. See Le-bégue, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Her. i. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. iii. 104.

the dwellers therein. Now therefore return to your own, and inhabit your island.<sup>1</sup> He then offered 300 talents-weight of frankincense on the altar of Apollo. Just before this, his army had burned the Greek temples of Naxos. The host of Xerxes ten years later destroyed the temple of Apollo at Abae, and attacked Delphi. The special reason assigned by Datis for sparing Delos—that it had borne ‘the two gods’—appears rather Persian than Phœnician. So comprehensive were the claims to sanctity which interwoven traditions had concentrated on Delos. Outside of the Hellenic circle, the prestige of the Sacred Island could appeal to Aryan worshippers of Mithra and Homa no less than to Semitic votaries of Melcarth or Astarte.

Thus far the religious character of Delos has been joined to political independence; in the age which now opens we shall find them severed.

## II. *The Athenian Period: 478–322 B.C.*

When, after the Persian Wars, the allies transferred the leadership from Sparta to Athens, the new Confederation took the solemn form of an *amphictyony*: that is, the federal obligations laid on the members were placed under a religious sanction, symbolized by common worship at a central shrine. For an Aegean amphictyony, this central shrine could be nowhere but at Delos, which therefore became the treasury (*ταμειῶν*)<sup>2</sup> of the League,—the meetings of the deputies being held in the temple of the Delian Apollo. The Hellenotamiae (who were exclusively Athenians) were concerned solely with the Federal fund. But the temples of Delos were placed under the protection of the League. This afforded an easy pretext for meddling with their administration. The transference of the Federal treasury from Delos to Athens had taken place before 454 B.C. But Athens continued to interfere in the local management of Delian affairs. An inscription found at Athens, and referring to the years 434–433 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> warrants the inference that the sacred revenues of the Delian Apollo were at that date controlled by

<sup>1</sup> Her. vi. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. i. 96.

<sup>3</sup> *Corpus Inscr. Att.* i. No. 283. The

inscription gives the accounts of the officials who administered the sacred revenues in Ol. 86, 3, 4.

Athenian officials; who, though now representing imperial Athens alone, presently appear under the plausible title of *amphictyones*, 'Federal Commissioners.' With a decent respect for the forms of independence, Athens still, indeed, permits the name of a Delian archon to appear in company with that of the Athenian eponymus.

It was in the winter of 426 B.C. that the Athenian Demos, imitating the example of the Athenian despot, undertook the purification of Delos. Peisistratus had obeyed a sacred text; and they too, says Thucydides, acted 'on some oracle or other' (*κατὰ χρησμόν δὲ τινα*). All the coffins (*φῆκαι*, in the Sacred Island were taken up:—more than half of them, we are told, contained bodies which could be recognised, by the fashion of the armour and by the mode of burial, as Carian. These remains were removed. It was ordered that thenceforth all dying persons, and all parturient women, should be transported from Delos to Rheneia. At the same time a new festival was instituted. Year by year the sacred embassies, bringing choruses and offerings, had continued to visit Delos. But since the cessation of the Pan-Ionic gatherings the brilliant contests had in great measure ceased. The Athenians now founded a celebration to be held in the third year of every Olympiad. The list of the ancient contests was enlarged by the addition of chariot-races.<sup>1</sup> Religion and policy alike counselled such a measure. Athens had lately been delivered from the plague. The Athenians and their allies were still excluded from Olympia. But the regulation of births and deaths had an ulterior aim which it is not difficult to perceive. When the Delians, in Plutarch's story, complain to the Spartan king, he drily rejoins that, under this double restriction, Delos has well-nigh ceased to be their own country.<sup>2</sup> The best comment on this apocryphal sarcasm is the next step actually taken by Athens. In 422 B.C. the Delians were expelled from their island; but the Apollo of Delphi pleaded for his birthplace, and in 421 the survivors were permitted to return.

Soon after this date may be placed a memorable and

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. iii. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Apophth. Lacon.*, Πανσ-  
αρίου τοῦ Κλεομβρότου, i. (p. 230 D);  
πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, αὕτη πατρίς [ἂν] ὑμῶν εἴη,

ἐν ᾗ οὔτε γέγονέ τις ὑμῶν, οὐτ' ἔσται;  
The last word seems corrupt. I would  
read, οὔτε κείσεται;

picturesque incident in the history of the island—the sacred embassy from Athens which was led by Nicias. The new Delian festival fell in the third year of each Olympiad: this embassy probably belonged to the first celebration after the peace of 421 B.C.,—that, namely, of O.L. 86/3, or 418 B.C. Hitherto, it appears, an unseemly disorder had attended the arrival of sacred missions at the island. On the approach of vessels from the various cities, bringing the choruses who were to chant Apollo's praise, a crowd had thronged down to welcome them at the harbour of Delos. The persons (*Δηλιασται*) who were to form the sacred procession had been compelled to disembark hurriedly, in the very act of donning their festal garb and adjusting the wreaths upon their heads. An idle population—those ‘parasites of Greece’ whom Delos nourished—had been accustomed to press around them as soon as they touched the shore, to impede their movements, and to derange the spectacle of their progress to the shrine. Nicias was resolved to prevent this indecorum. Instead of proceeding directly to Delos, he landed, with his chorus, with the animals destined for sacrifice, and with all his sacred gear, on the adjacent isle of Rheneia. A wooden bridge had been prepared at Athens, and brought in pieces on a ship. During the night this bridge was erected, not, as Plutarch implies, between Rheneia and Delos, which would make it at least half a mile long, but obviously between the landing-place of Delos and the more northerly of the two small islands in the channel, just opposite the landing-place, where the distance to be spanned is about 150 yards. Next morning the expectant populace beheld an unwonted sight. Across the bridge, splendid in gold and colours, festooned with wreaths and spread with carpets, a magnificent procession, raising the chant of the festival, slowly passed into the Sacred Isle, and moved in stately order to the temple of Apollo. When the sacrifices and the games had been celebrated, and the feasting was over, Nicias dedicated to Apollo the offering of a palm-tree in bronze. He also purchased and presented to the Delians a site to be used for sacrificial banquets; placing on it a column with an inscription which prayed the feasters *to ask many blessings for Nicias from the gods*. Five years later he was to die miserably in Sicily—after that terrible retreat, at the outset of which he makes his confident appeal to the tenor of ‘a life religious before the gods, just and

without offence among men'<sup>1</sup> Subsequently the bronze palm-tree was blown down by a storm, overturning in its fall a colossus of Apollo, which had been dedicated at an earlier time by the Naxians. Perhaps the superstition of those days may have whispered that the Erinyes of the unhappy Athenian were wroth with the god whom he had adored in vain.<sup>2</sup>

It has hitherto been supposed that, at the end of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta left to Athens the control of Delos. This belief rested, partly on the Plutarchic anecdote of the Delians failing to obtain relief from Sparta, partly on the silence of ancient writers, and on the general probability of a concession at once cheap and politic. These grounds are inconclusive. And a fragmentary inscription lately found at Delos by M. Homolle makes it highly probable that the case was otherwise.<sup>3</sup> The words are . . . καὶ θεῶν καὶ ναῶν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἐβασίλευον Ἄγισ Πausanίας. Ἐφόροι ἦσαν. Θυιωνίδας Ἀριστογενίδας Ἀρχίστας Σολόγας Φεδίλας. Ἐν Δῷλῳ [δ' ἦρχεν? . . .] The mention of Delos indicates that this document concerned the island. Agis I. and Pausanias II. were the only two Spartan kings of those names who reigned together: the date must therefore be either 427-426 B.C. or 401-398 B.C.; since Pleistoanax, the father of Pausanias, was recalled in 426 and reigned till 408. Now, if the date was 427-426 B.C., one of the five ephors named by the inscription ought to occur in that list of eponymous ephors from 431 to 404 B.C. which is read in Xenophon.<sup>4</sup> But it is not so. Probably, then, the date lies between 408 and 398 B.C. The genitives at the beginning seem to depend on some lost verb with the notion of ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. We know from Diodorus<sup>5</sup> that Athens had occasion to complain of intrigues between Delos and the Peloponnesus. The story of the Delians applying to Pausanias points in the same direction.

It seems, then, a not unwarrantable hypothesis that, in this inscription, we have the fragment of a convention between Sparta and Delos with regard to the administration of the Delian temples and their treasures; and that this convention was made after the defeat of Athens in 404 B.C. If the

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vii. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Nicias*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin de Correspondance hellé-*

*nique*, vol. iii. p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Hellen.* ii. 3, §§ 9, 10.

<sup>5</sup> xii. 73.

hypothesis is correct, and if the Delians recovered for a time any measure of their old autonomy, this independence was not of long duration. Inscriptions found at Athens, and referring to Ol. 100. 4, Ol. 101. 1, 2, 3—*i.e.* to 377-374 B.C.—show that the sacred revenues of Delos were at that date administered by the Athenian officials called *amphictyones*.<sup>1</sup> We have the table of their receipts and expenses. They receive interest on money lent by the temple of the Delian Apollo, and rents of houses or lands appertaining to it. Their expenses are connected with the sacred mission, the sacrifices, and the games. More curious than these details is an item which figures among their receipts. Fines, equivalent to about £30 a head, had been levied on certain Delians guilty of assaulting the Athenian officials in the island,—dragging them from the temple of Apollo,—and beating them. Delos still possessed the shadowy privilege of nominating archons; and the Delian archons contemporary with this outrage bear in three instances the same names as the culprits. If the Delian archons were not chosen by lot, prominence in an insult to the tyrants from over the water would doubtless have commended a candidate to the constituency with a force which we can easily understand.

The existence of a home-rule party in the Sacred Island is indeed attested by a less obscure incident which occurred some years later. Delians who resented the usurpation of Athens might well think that their grievances could never have a better chance of being redressed than at the moment when Philip of Macedon had succeeded to the place of Phocis in the Council of the Delphic Amphictyony (346 B.C.). A court which at all times was peculiarly bound to chastise sacrilege now had for its virtual president a judge not too partial to Athens. In 345 B.C. the case (*διαδικασία*) came

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 158, 159. The library of Trinity College, Cambridge, contains the original *Marmor Sandwichense*, so called because it was brought to England, and presented to the college, by John, Lord Sandwich, in 1739. Under that name it was first described by Dr. John Taylor (Cambridge, 1743): see also Rose, *Inscr. Græc.* (1825), p. 313. The opening

words are *Τάδε ἔπραξαν ἀμφικτύονες Ἀθηναίων*. Then follow (1) receipts from communities (chiefly insular) and individuals; (2) expenses connected with the worship of the Delian Apollo; (3) arrears due from the public and private debtors. The whole statement covers the four years ending with the archonship of Socratides (374 B.C.).

before the Amphictyonic Council. Euthyrates, the betrayer of Olynthus, was the advocate of the Delians. The Athenian cause had been entrusted by the Ecclesia to Aeschines, whose former relations with the Amphictyonic Council, and whose favour with Philip, must have designated him for the office. A belief grew, however, that Philip was playing into the hands of the Delians. It was resolved—probably on the motion of Demosthenes—that the final choice of an orator should be referred to the Areopagus. That body selected Hypereides. His speech before the Amphictyonic Council,—famous in antiquity as ‘the Delian oration,’—traced the history of the island temple to an Athenian origin, while it did not fail to remind the judges of those immemorial ties which linked Athens with Delphi. His ingenious eloquence prevailed: the Amphictyonic tribunal confirmed Athens in the administration of the Delian sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> After this repulse, it might have seemed that Delos was fated to remain in permanent dependence; but the time was at hand when the island was to enter on a new life of freedom and of brilliant prosperity.

### III. *The Macedonian Period: 322—166 B.C.*

An Athenian inscription, presumed to be an inventory of objects preserved at Delos, mentions a gift bearing the date of the archon Polemon, *i.e.* 312 B.C.<sup>2</sup> It has been inferred that the Athenian domination in Delos still existed then.<sup>3</sup> But this inference presumes that the Athenians would no longer have registered and dated their own offerings in the Delian temple when they had ceased to administer it. At any rate, the Delians became independent not much later,—if, indeed, the submission of Athens to Antipater after the battle of Crannon (322 B.C.) had not already emancipated them. The constitution of free Delos was like that of other Greek cities: it had a popular assembly and a senate. We find the guild of ‘Dionysiac artists’ (τεχνῖται

<sup>1</sup> Schäfer, *Demosth. u. seine Zeit*, vol. ii. pp. 346 f.: the fragments of the *Δηλιακός* of Hypereides in Sauppe, *frag. Or. Att.* p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Le Bas, *Voy. archéol.*, Inscr. att.

no. 245, l. 31.

<sup>3</sup> M. Homolle, *Bulletin de Corr. hellén.* vol. ii. p. 582. The doubt, which appears to me well-founded, is expressed by M. Lebégue, p. 301, *note*.

Διονυσιακοί) applying to the senate and people for permission to erect a statue, and these bodies appointing a committee (πρυτάνεις) to assign a site.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto epigraphy has given us only rare flashes of light: but from 300 to 100 B.C. the inscriptions are numerous: and from about 250 B.C. to 166 B.C. they are most abundant of all. They are chiefly of three classes: (1) decrees of the Delian Senate and People, awarding distinctions to benefactors of the island; (2) dedications, in honour of gods or men; (3) inventories of objects preserved in the temples.

The decrees are the most numerous. Their formula is nearly constant. A preamble sets forth that such or such a person 'perseveres in benefits' (διατελεῖ ἀγαθὸς ὢν) to 'the temple and the people' (τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸν δῆμον) 'of the Delians': that therefore it has seemed good to the Senate and the People to confer upon him such or such privileges. These are, in most cases, (i) the right of acquiring land and house-property in the island,—γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησις: (ii) exemption from taxes,—ἀτέλεια: (iii) precedence in the law-courts,—δίκαι πρόδικοι: (iv) the right of bringing private business before the Senate or People immediately after the affairs of religion,—πρόσδοος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρώτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά. A rarer distinction is a place of honour at festivals—προεδρία. Rarer still is the distinction of being publicly eulogized and crowned at the *Apollonia* (a festival distinct from the *Delia*, as another inscription shows<sup>2</sup>)—when the sacred herald (ἱεροκῆρυξ) proclaimed the name of the person thus honoured. The decree usually adds that the recipient is to possess πάντα ὅσα δέδοται τοῖς προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις, all the privileges assigned to the public friends and benefactors of Delos.<sup>3</sup>

Among the persons thus distinguished we find Pnytagoras,<sup>4</sup> king of Salamis in Cyprus, and Philocles, king of Sidon, who had established a claim on the regard of the Delians by helping

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 3067.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de Corr. hellén.* vol. iii. p. 379: a dedication by parents in honour of their daughter, κανηφορήσαν Δήλια καὶ Ἀπολλώνια.

<sup>3</sup> About fifty decrees of προξενία have been found, of which some thirty are complete: see M. Homolle, *Monuments*

*græcs*, No. 7, p. 38; *Bulletin de Corr. h.* vol. i. p. 279, where some specimens are given in full.

<sup>4</sup> A temple-inventory mentions an offering on which the decree in his favour was engraved—ἔχον προξενίαν Πνυταγόρα Βασιλεῖ Σαλαμινίῳ: *Mon. græcs*, l. c. p. 49.

them to recover their debts from the islands.<sup>1</sup> A wreath is voted to a poet of Andros named Demoteles, because 'he has made the Temple his theme, and has commemorated the legends of the place.'<sup>2</sup> A physician named Archippus,<sup>3</sup> of Ceos, receives the honours of hereditary *proxenia* because he has served Delos 'by his medical science, as in other ways.' Antiochus III. (the Great) of Syria, and his son Antiochus Epiphanes, are among those to whom statues were raised at Delos during this period, and who are commemorated in extant dedications; also a certain Sostratus, who may possibly be the builder of the Alexandrian Pharos in the reign of the first Ptolemy; and Heliodorus, the false treasurer of Seleucus Philopator, whose miraculous punishment for attempted sacrilege at Jerusalem is mentioned in the Second Book of Maccabees.<sup>4</sup> Two different inscriptions, on the bases of statues erected by private persons (one, a Rhodian), commemorate Masinissa, king of Numidia, the ally of Rome against Carthage. They style him *Βασιλέα Μασαννάσαν, Βασιλέως Γαία*.<sup>5</sup> The MSS. of Livy give his father's name as *Gala*. Another dedication honours Chysermus (of Alexandria), who lived in the reign of Ptolemy III. (Euergetes), 247-222 B.C. He is styled 'kinsman of the king,' 'doctor of sacred law,' 'president of the physicians,' 'director of the Museum.'<sup>6</sup> This is the man named by Plutarch as father of that Ptolemaeus who was involved at Alexandria in the tragic end of Cleomenes III.

From 300 to 200 B.C. every shore of the Mediterranean was constantly sending tributes to Delos. If the spirit of the old Greek worship was sinking, the area of Hellenic civilization had been greatly enlarged. The rulers of the new kingdoms into

<sup>1</sup> See the inscription in the *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. iv. p. 327. Philocles *πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησατο ὅπως Δῆλιοι κομίσωνται τὰ δάνεια*.

<sup>2</sup> *πεπραγμάτευται περί τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ μύθους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους γέγραπεν*: *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. iv. p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 349.

<sup>4</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. iii. pp. 360 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. ii. p. 400; vol. iii. p. 469. These inscriptions may be referred to 200-150 B.C.;

whether they were earlier or later than 166 B.C. can scarcely be determined. The latter has, *Πολυάνθης ἐπείκει* (*sic*). The same sculptor's name occurs in an inscription of Melos, published by M. Tissot (*Bulletin*, vol. ii. p. 522), where we read, *Πολυάνθης ἐποίησεν*.

<sup>6</sup> *Τὸν συγγενῇ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἐξηγητὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν καὶ ἐπιστάτην τοῦ Μουσείου*: *Bulletin*, vol. ii. p. 470. His son, too, is styled *φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως*, Plut. *Cleom.* 36.

which Alexander's empire had been divided were proud of Hellenic lineage, or anxious to claim it. For them, it was a point of honour or of policy to heap gifts on the Aegean birthplace of Apollo. The Ptolemies, the Seleucidae, the kings of Macedon from Demetrius to Perseus, are among the benefactors of the temple. Choruses of maidens (Δηλιάδες) for the festivals of Apollo are provided at the charges of Alexandria, Megalopolis, Cos, and Rhodes. Gifts are sent by the Cyclades, Crete, Sicily, Rome. The mention of 'a bowl presented by the people of the Tauric Chersonese' (φιάλη Χερσονησιτῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου) proves the continued intercourse between Delos and the remotest of her daughters.<sup>1</sup> It was at this period—between 300 and 200 B.C.—that Delos began to merit in the fullest degree that title which Pausanias gives to it, as 'the common mart of the Greeks,' τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόριον.<sup>2</sup> Its importance in this respect is indicated by the fact that the Tyrian traders of Delos formed a separate guild, which recorded decrees.<sup>3</sup> Both as a sanctuary and as a resort of merchants or sightseers, Delos offered peculiar advantages for the display of public documents. Thus a treaty between the Boeotians and Perseus of Macedon (172 B.C.) was exhibited on graven columns placed at Thebes, Delphi, and Delos.<sup>4</sup> When Perseus wished to give all possible publicity to an amnesty recalling exiles to Macedonia, Delos, Delphi, and the Itonian temple in Phthiotis were the three places at which he announced it.<sup>5</sup> A convention between towns of Lesbos, a convention between towns of Crete, decrees by the authorities of Tenos, Syros, Ceos, Teos, are registered at Delos.<sup>6</sup> The people of Cyzicus on the Propontis had obtained an oracle from Delphi, declaring their city to be sacred. They

<sup>1</sup> *Monuments grecs*, No. 7, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. viii. 32, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 2273. The funeral inscriptions of Rheneia (*ib.* 2319 b, 41), and a Delian dedication (*ib.* 2290) further attest the presence of the Tyrians in Delos.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. xlii. 12: Tribus nunc locis cum Perseo foedus incisum litteris esse; uno Thebis; altero ad Delum, augustissimo et celeberrimo templo; tertio Delphis.

<sup>5</sup> Polyb. xxvi. fr. 5, 1, 2: τούτων

ἐξετίθει προγραφὰς εἰς τε Δῆλον καὶ Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν: a place which makes against the proposed emendation *Delium* in Liv. l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Lesbos: *Expédition de Morée*, vol. iii. Inscriptions of the Aegean isles; Delos, No. 2, p. 24:—Tenos, Ceos, Teos, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* 2334, 2272, 3067:—Syros, Crete, inscriptions found by M. Homolle, *Bulletin de Corr. h.* vol. iii. p. 292.

send an embassy to request that this response may be published in the temple of the Delian Apollo.<sup>1</sup>

It is due to this quality of Delos as the common depository of archives that recent researches have been able to throw some fresh light on an interesting institution. For more than a century after Alexander the history of the Aegean islands is obscure. But three inscriptions published by Böckh had already taught us that there existed at this period a *Confederation of the Islands*, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν. One of these inscriptions was a decree in favour of a Syracusan named Timon; two others were dedications, in honour respectively of Ptolemy Philadelphus and of a Rhodian named Agathostratus.<sup>2</sup> M. Homolle has discovered at Delos five more inscriptions which record acts of this Island League. Two are dedications on statues erected by the Confederation,—one in honour of ‘the navarch Callierates of Samos’—possibly the very navarch of that name mentioned in the epigrams of Poseidippus—the other, to Apollo. Three are decrees. In one, it is ordered by the ‘Council (σύεδροι) of the Islanders’ that a certain Thrasyllus shall be crowned ‘at the first contest of the *Ptolemaca*, when the tragic poets compete.’ Two others requite the services of Egyptian officials.<sup>3</sup> This Island League may probably be referred to the period from 300 to 180 B.C. The mention of a festival called *Ptolemaca*,—the fact that two of the persons honoured are described as ‘ministers of king Ptolemy’ (τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον),—sufficiently indicate that the Confederation was protected by the dynasty of the Lagidae. The Second Ptolemy (Philadelphus, 285–247 B.C.) had sufficient naval power for that purpose. The last mention of the League is in an inscription found at Tenos,—one of those already published by Böckh,—which must be earlier than 166 B.C. Tenos was one, at least, of the meeting-places.<sup>4</sup> There is no proof that the League, or its Council (σύεδροι), exercised any functions beyond the regulation of festivals and of honorary rewards. It was probably in political dependence on Egypt. When the Delians desired to collect the moneys which they had

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. iv. p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2234, 2273, 2283 c.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. iv. pp. 320 f.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo notices the size of the ἑστιάτῳ at the Tenian temple of Poseidon as a proof that the festivals there must have been largely attended (x. v. 11).

lent to the Island Confederation, it is significant that their appeal was made to Philocles, king of Sidon.

While Delos was subject to Athens, the temples were administered by the Athenian 'amphictyones.' In free Delos these duties were entrusted to Delian officials called *hieropoioi* (ἱεροποιοί), 'ministers of public worship.' Like the 'amphictyones,' these guardians held office for one year only, at the end of which they rendered a minute account of their stewardship. The inventories or accounts relating to the temples form the most numerous class of Delian inscriptions. They give us a curious insight into the sacred administration at the period when the Delian sanctuary was most prosperous. The outgoing 'hieropoioi' handed over the charge to their successors in presence of the Delian Senate. On doing so, they presented an inventory in two parts. The first part enumerates all the objects which they had received from their predecessors,—beginning with the temple of Apollo, and going on to the other Delian temples, of which (like the Athenian ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ) they had the general charge. The formula is—τάδε παρελάβομεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, κ.τ.λ. The second part enumerates the objects acquired during their year of office. Articles of gold, silver, bronze, iron, marble, wood, glass, ivory, tortoise-shell, are successively recorded. Some of these are kept in coffer (κιβώτια); others, on stands of which the shelves or drawers (ρύμιοι) are numbered and catalogued; in other instances the place is indicated by a phrase: 'on the right,' or 'left,' 'as you enter'; 'near the corner of the picture'; 'near the sun-dial'; 'hanging against the wall.' The objects themselves are of every kind: bowls (φιάλαι—of which Apollo's temple alone had some thousands); vases and chests or coffer of every class; lamps; censers; small altars or braziers; pictures (πίνακες); portraits (πίνακες εἰκονικοί); mosaics (πίνακες ἐμβλητοὺς γραφὰς ἔχοντες); statues of gods (ἀγάλματα) or men (ἀνδριάντες); jewellery; engraved gems. When there is an inscription on the gift, it is often quoted; in the case of the precious metals, the weight is given. The minuteness of description is often remarkable: 'a little cow [dedicated to Isis in the Serapeion?] without its left horn'; 'a kettle which has lost its bottom and its handles'; 'a golden laurel-crown with twisted leaves'; 'a golden wreath with [so many] leaves, counting those that

have dropped off"—for the smallest fragments, the very morsels of gold dust (*θραύρατα, κλάσματα, ψήγματα*) were recorded. Ex-voto offerings are frequently named—beaks of ships, rudders, a herald's staff, shields, spears, greaves, bows. A fragment of one such ex-voto has been found, part of a leaden quiver, with the legend *ταῦτα γὰρ πεινῆν ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς*,—'these [arrows] saved us from starving':—one thinks of Philoctetes at Lemnos. Sacred envoys (*θεωραί*) used to wear a sort of plaited head-dress called *στλεγγίς*, and among the ex-votos are mentioned *στλεγγίδια θεωρικά*. One article is named which the modern world would gladly purchase at the cost of much else which the Delian temple contained—*θήκην τρίγωνον ἔχουσαν βιβλία Ἀλκαίου*, a three-cornered case containing works of *Alcaeus*.<sup>1</sup>

But the wealth of the Delian god did not consist merely in the contents of his temple. He was also a land-owner and a money-lender. Rheneia, the greater part of Delos, and (in the second century B.C.) part of Myconos, were included in his domain. His revenues comprised rents of arable land (*ἐνγρόσια*), of pastures (*ἐννόμια*), and of houses (*ἐνοίκια*). The house-property is multifarious,—workshops, cellars, dwelling-houses, lodging-houses (*συνοικίαι*), an apothecary's shop, a bath. Apollo further levied taxes on the purple-fishery, on anchorage, and on the disembarkation of merchandise.<sup>2</sup> One item figures as *στροφεῖα*. I take this to mean charges for the use of windlasses employed in warping ships up to the jetty, or in landing their freight.<sup>3</sup> The Delian temple, like other rich temples, put out the balance of its revenues at usury. The town of Delos, the island communities, and also private persons, appear as debtors in the temple-register of loans. The capital sums (*δάνεια*) were usually lent for terms of five years, at the annual interest of ten per cent. (*τόκοι ἐπιδεκάτοι*). An inscription presents us with a contract for repairing the temple of Apollo. In supervising this work the regular 'hieropoioi' are assisted by inspectors termed *ἐπιστάται* or *ἐπιμεληταί*: and the signatures of guarantors are subjoined. The document certainly

<sup>1</sup> *Monuments grecs*, No. 7, pp. 19 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. ii. pp. 341 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Lucian, *πλοῖον* 5, where αἱ

ἄγκυραι καὶ στροφεῖα (windlasses) καὶ περιαγωγεῖς (capstans) are among the objects which the visitor admires on the deck.

belongs to free Delos, and may probably be placed shortly before 200 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

During the Macedonian age we have seen Delos independent, widely venerated, and increasingly prosperous. In the period which now opens, independence is once more taken from it; worship gradually forsakes it; and the marts of Delos, still busy for a space, presently share the ruin of her freedom and the silence of her shrines.

#### IV. *The Roman Period*: from 166 B.C.

Livy says that Athens recovered Delos in 196 B.C.; Polybius, in 166 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The latter is doubtless right. Athenian hopes may have been raised when Rome proclaimed the freedom of Greece in 196 B.C., but they were realised, after urgent demands, only thirty years later.<sup>3</sup> From 166 B.C. onwards the archons of Athens are, as M. Dumont has shown, the archons of Delos also.<sup>4</sup> The last shadow of autonomy has vanished; Delos is more completely dependent than an ordinary cleruchia. The supreme administration was vested in an Athenian governor (*ἐπιμελητής*). But a special cause sustained, or stimulated, Delian commerce. The position of the Aegean island rendered it, at this time, a convenient station for the Romans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Rome granted to Delos the privilege of exemption from taxes on imports and exports. The result was to give Delos a decisive advantage over her commercial competitor, Rhodes.<sup>5</sup> The trade of Rhodes was, in fact, ruined. The prosperity of Delos, on the other hand, is sufficiently attested by inscriptions. Dedications belonging to the years 200–80 B.C. constantly speak of ‘the Romans,—Italians and

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* 2266; Lebégue, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. xxxiii. 30; Polyb. xxx. 18.

<sup>3</sup> The question has been discussed by Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, vol. i. p. 84, who in his note (60, *ib.*) collects the authorities.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue archéol.* 1873, xxvi. pp. 257 f.

<sup>5</sup> In his work on the *Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Ephesus* (1880), Mr. Barclay V. Head has proved a

fact which is of interest for the commercial history of Rhodes. He has shown that the pan-Asiatic coinage of the cistophori was introduced by Eumenes II. of Pergamus, with the consent of the Romans, about 167 B.C., when Rhodes shared in the reverses of Macedonia. Hitherto the Rhodian coinage had been the general medium of commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean: the new cistophori were designed to supplant it.

Greeks,—who are trading in the island.<sup>1</sup> Many Orientals were settled in Delos or Rheneia; the Tyrian trading-guild has already been noticed. The Delians had some local industries. They manufactured a species of bronze much used for the legs of tables and like purposes; they prepared a certain unguent which was in request; they sold fish, and the honey of the Cyclades; they fattened fowls; and they maintained that ancient prestige as cooks which led ungrateful gourmands to nickname them *ἐλεοδύται*, 'scullions.'<sup>2</sup> Delos was an active centre of the slave-trade. The site of an enclosure in which the human cattle were penned can still be traced at the north-east corner of the island; and this traffic, flourishing close to the altars of the god whose praise was to kindle a light for the prisoners of darkness and pain, must have made Delos a name of horror to thousands of miserable beings.

The glory of Hellenic worship in the island had already paled. Kings who felt or affected reverence for the Greek Apollo had been replaced by Roman officials, who were sceptical, avaricious, or both. But the administration of the temples—now once more controlled by Athens—seems to have been continued on the ancient lines. The new Athenian officials, who succeeded to the *hieropoioi* of free Delos, have no longer the specious name of *amphictyones*, as in the fifth and fourth centuries. They are described merely as 'those appointed to the charge of the sacred treasure and the other revenues of the temple,' οἱ (καθιστάμενοι) ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προσόδων τῶν τοῦ ναοῦ.<sup>3</sup> This was a time at

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. iii. p. 371. 'Ρωμαῖοι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι—'Ρωμαίων Ἰταλικοὶ καὶ Ἕλληνες οἱ κα... (?)—'Italici et Graeci qui negotiantur.' We may complete the lacuna after κα with the letters *πηλεύοντες*; unless it was *κατοικοῦντες*.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiv. 4, xiii. 2: Dioscorides, ii. 101; Athenaeus, iv. 173 A (who explains the nickname, διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐλεοῖς ὑποδύεσθαι, διακονοῦντες ἐν ταῖς θοῖαις). The preparation of sacrificial feasts had always been an engrossing occupation for the islanders: μαγείρων καὶ τραπέζοποιῶν παρείχοντο χρεῖας τοῖς παραγιγνομένοις πρὸς τὰς ἱεουργίας

(l. c.). Besides the general appellation, *ἐλεοδύται*, they had, says Athenaeus, many special soubriquets—such as *Χοίρακοι*, *Ἄμνοι*, *Σήσαμοι*, etc. Cp. Cic. *Acad.* 2, 26. Nothing is certain about the *Δηλιάς* of the comic poet Nicochares (in Aristot. *Poet.* 2, Castelvetro would read *Δειλιδᾶ*, *polltroniad*): but Philostephanus wrote a comedy called *Δήλιος* (Athen. vii. 293 A), and the *Δηλιδῆς* of Cratinus is often cited (Meineke, *Frag.* I. p. 11). The *Δηλία* of Antiphanes is known only by name (*ib.* p. 364).

<sup>3</sup> *Monuments grecs*, No. 7, p. 41.

which mystic rites and Oriental worships probably gained the ascendancy at Delos. We find that mysteries (noticed also by Iamblichus) were celebrated on the top of Cynthus, near a cistern adjoining the temple of the Cynthian Zeus and Athena. One inscription of this age directs that the votaries shall ascend to that temple '*pure in soul, in white raiment, with no shoes upon their feet.*'<sup>1</sup> Other inscriptions refer to the temple of Serapis lower down on the north-west slope of Cynthus; they mention the black-stoled priestesses (*μελανηφόροι*) and canephori of Isis.<sup>2</sup> A native of Ascalon is among those whose dedications are recorded.<sup>3</sup> The shrine of the Syrian Aphrodite and of the Tyrian Heracles had numerous worshippers in the island.

The first Mithridatic War (88-84 B.C.) brought the catastrophe of Delos. While Athens joined the Pontic king, the poorly defended isle was held loyal to Rome by interest and fear. During the tyranny of Aristion at Athens, Apellicon, whose prestige was that of a Peripatetic philosopher, received the command of an expedition against Delos. Successful at first, he was surprised and driven off, with the loss of his whole force, by the Romans under Orobios. Presently, however, the generals of Mithridates reduced the Cyclades. Menophanes (according to Pausanias) was the leader who captured Delos. 'Delos was unfortified, and its inhabitants were unarmed. He sailed down upon it with his triremes; he slaughtered both the natives and the resident foreigners; he plundered much of the property belonging to the merchants, and all the objects dedicated to the gods. He further enslaved the women and children; and levelled the town of Delos with the soil' (*αὐτὴν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλε τὴν Δῆλον*). At a later time the town of Boiae, opposite Cythera, possessed an ancient wooden statue of Apollo. Tradition said that, at the sack of Delos by Menophanes, the image had been cast into the sea, and that the waves had wafted it to the Laconian shore.<sup>4</sup>

This event may be placed in 87 B.C. Two inscriptions<sup>5</sup> indicate that, during a brief space, Athens held Delos for the king of Pontus. Both he and his father, Mithridates Euergetes,

<sup>1</sup> Lebégue, p. 158: *ψυχῇ καθα[ρούς] — ἔχοντας ἐσθῆτα λευκὴν . . ἀνυποδέ- τους.*

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2293-2298.

<sup>3</sup> Lebégue, p. 116, *Inscr. No.* 21.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. iii. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2279, 2277; Lebégue, p. 318.

figure among those who had sent gifts to the Sacred Isle. Its severe doom may have seemed in his eyes the merited recompense of ingratitude.

In 86 B.C. Sulla took Athens; and the peace of 84 B.C. restored Delos to Rome. A little later we find Delos placed under the control of Paros, but with municipal autonomy, and with the right of nominating archons. In a decree preserved by Josephus,<sup>1</sup> Julius Caesar charges the Senate and People of Paros to protect the Jews of Delos in the free exercise of their religion. Delos was finally restored to Athens about 42 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, as from 166 to 87 B.C., it is administered by an Athenian governor (ἐπιμελητής).

The island never completely recovered from the blow dealt by Menophanes. It further suffered from the piracy which then infested the 'Aegean.'<sup>3</sup> If Cicero may be believed, Verres attempted to carry off some statues by night, but failed to ship them.<sup>4</sup> It would, however, be a mistake to conceive Delos as already abandoned to the spoiler. Though much had been injured or removed, it was still the isle radiant with marble of which the poets speak:<sup>5</sup> its holy places could still attract the lovers of art and the pious students of antiquity. The general features in Ovid's description are doubtless borrowed from what he or his contemporaries had seen. His Cydippe sees the ancient altar which Apollo was said to have made from the horns of she-goats, and the tree at which Latona gave him birth. But that is not all. 'Now I roam in colonnades,' she cries, 'now I marvel at the gifts of kings, and at the statues which are everywhere.'<sup>6</sup> The dedications show that under the late Republic and the early Empire statues were still raised to distinguished persons.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 10, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀλέξανδρος Πολυκλείτου Φλυεύς is named as ἐπιμελητής (Athenian governor) of Delos in the archonship of Zenon: *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* 2287. Two archons of the name occur at this period—in 54 B.C. and 41 B.C. (Dumont, *La Chronol. athén. à Délos*). M. Homolle recognises the earlier Zenon here (*Bulletin de C. h.* iii. 372): M. Lebégue (p. 321), the later.

<sup>3</sup> Photius (cod. 97) quotes Phlegon of Tralles for the statement that the

pirate Athenodorus made a successful descent upon Delos, and carried many of the inhabitants into slavery.

<sup>4</sup> *In Verrem*, De praetura urbana, 17, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ovid, *Heroid.* Ep. xxi. 82, *Candida Delos: Anthol. Gr.*, ed. Jacobs, ii. 149, No. 421, v. 5, ἡ τότε λευκὴ Δῆλος.

<sup>6</sup> Ovid, *l. c.* 97, 'Et modo porticibus spatior, modo munera regum Miror, et in cunctis stantia signa locis.'

Among these we note Julia, the daughter of Augustus,<sup>1</sup> and Herod Antipas, the tetrarch of Galilaea and Peraea.<sup>2</sup> Yet the phrases used in these dedications serve to mark how commercial life was slowly ebbing from Delos. Three formulas of dedication prevail between 166 B.C. and about 50 A.D. The first we have already quoted. The second is current from about 80 to 28 B.C., and commonly runs thus:—‘*The Athenians, Romans, and Greeks generally who reside in Delos, with the merchants and ship-masters visiting it.*’<sup>3</sup> The third formula occurs from about 28 B.C. onwards: it is simply this:—‘*The Athenian people, and the residents in the island.*’ The mention of the traders is no longer necessary.<sup>4</sup>

It has been inferred from Lucan,<sup>5</sup> and is more than likely on general grounds, that the oracle of Delos was still consulted in the first century A.D. The *Delia* are mentioned in an inscription of Hadrian’s reign (117—138 A.D.), who, while at Athens, may have done something to restore the worship of the Sacred Isle.<sup>6</sup> In the time of Pausanias, however (circ. 160 A.D.), Delos was deserted, ‘if we leave out of account those who are sent from Athens to take care of the temple.’<sup>7</sup> The most striking and interesting evidence of this statement is afforded by a series of epigrams in the Greek Anthology,—all, probably, of the first or early second century A.D.

‘Would I were still drifting before the breath of all winds, rather than that I had been stayed to shelter homeless Leto!

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* vol. ii. p. 399. The date, M. Homolle thinks (*ib.* iii. 155), may have been 17 B.C., when Julia visited Asia Minor with her husband Agrippa.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* iii. 366. The Herods, as M. Homolle remarks, were brought into relation with the Greeks by their tastes, and (as at Delos) by the instrumentality of Jewish colonies. A statue to Herod Antipas had been erected at Cos also (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2502); and his father, Herod the Great, had received a like honour at Athens (*Corp. Ins. Att.* iii. 1, 550.) The date is somewhere between 4 B.C. and 38 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν

ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι. Sometimes παρεπιδημοῦντες is replaced by καταπλέοντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον: sometimes ξένων is substituted for Ἑλλήνων: sometimes we have Ἀθην. καὶ Ῥωμ. οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ οἱ ἔμποροι καὶ οἱ ναύκληροι (*Bulletin de C. h.* iii. 371).

<sup>4</sup> ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες (*ib.*).

<sup>5</sup> *Pharsal.* vi. 425 (of Sextus Pompeius), *Non tripodas Deli, non Pythia consulit antra.*

<sup>6</sup> Lebégue, 263, 326: referring to Heydemann, *Die Antiken Marmor-bildwerke* (1874), No. 235.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. viii. 33, 2.

Then had I not so greatly mourned my poverty. Ah, woe is me, how many Greek ships sail past me, Delos the desolate, whom once men worshipped! Hera is avenged on me for Leto with vengeance late but sore.' <sup>1</sup>

'Ye desolate isles, poor morsels of the earth, girdled by the waves of the sounding Aegean, ye have all become as Siphnos or parched Pholegandros, ye have lost your brightness that was of old. Verily ye are all ensampled of Delos,—of her who was once fair with marble, but was first to see the day of solitude.' <sup>2</sup>

'Famous wert thou, Tenos, I deny it not; for of yore the winged sons of Boreas [slain in Tenos by Heracles] gave thee renown. But renowned was Ortygia also, and her fame went even to those who dwell beyond the North Wind on Rhiphaean hills. Yet now thou livest, and she is dead. Who would have looked to see Delos more lonely than Tenos?' <sup>3</sup>

Delos had been an important station only so long as the Romans had no firm footing on the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. As that footing became more secure, the Aegean stepping-stone lost its value. Delos was not to the Roman world what it had been to the Hellenic: in the course of the first century A.D. it was already little more than a sacred rock on which temples were kept up by Athens. How Delos may have fared under the successors of Constantine can be guessed from the case of a shrine hardly less famous. When the Emperor Julian paid his devotions to the Apollo of Daphne near Antioch, he found that the once rich offerings had dwindled to 'a single goose, provided at the expense of a priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of this decayed temple.'<sup>4</sup> The last recorded incident in the annals of ancient Delos fitly recalls the chief source of its early fame. At the moment of

<sup>1</sup> *Anthol. Græc.* ed. Jacobs, vol. ii. p. 144, No. 408 (εἶθε με παντοίοισιν—).

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* p. 149, No. 421 (νῆσοι ἐρημαῖαι—).

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 195, No. 550 (κλεινὴν οὐκ ἀπόφημι—). Antipater of Thessalonica, to whom these epigrams are ascribed (though the first is given also to Apollonides) lived in the early part of the first century A.D. In another epigram (Jacobs, ii. 35, No. 100, Δητοῦς ὠδίνων ἱερῇ τροφῇ) Alpheus of

Mitylene (whose date was about the same) says that he cannot follow Antipater in calling Delos wretched (δειλαίην): the glory of having borne Apollo and Artemis is enough for all time.—I may note in passing that Tibullus, iii. 27 (*Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est?*), inadvertently quoted by M. Lebégue (324) as referring to the decay of Delos, has a different context.

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon, ch. xxiii. vol. iii. p. 168 (ed. Dr. Smith).

vanishing from history it appears once more among the great oracles. Julian, when meditating that invasion of Persia in which he perished, consulted before all others the priests of Delphi, Dodona, and Delos.<sup>1</sup> Thus, on the threshold of Asia, he honours these three great shrines, as Alexander, in whose steps he aspired to tread, had designed to honour them when his work in the East was done.<sup>2</sup> The Sacred Isle, which belongs so wholly to the pagan world, fitly passes out of view with this last champion of the pagan gods,—with him who in visions of the night saw the Genius of the Empire receding with veiled head from his tent, and to whom, on the eve of his death among the Persian hills, a lurid meteor showed the warning face of Mars.<sup>3</sup>

Julian died in 363 A.D. In 376 the Scythians and Goths ravaged the Cyclades. If worship had not already ceased in Delos, it probably came to an end under Theodosius (378—395), or at latest in the reign of Justinian (527—565). The final destruction of the monuments must have been hastened by the Saracens,<sup>4</sup> the Slavs in the eighth century, and the Agarenian pirates from Spain in the ninth. Some remains on the top of Cynthus have been supposed to mark the site of a castle built by the Knights of St. John, who, according to Cantacuzenus, occupied Delos. M. Lebégue is of opinion that these vestiges are exclusively Hellenic or Roman.<sup>5</sup> If the Hospitallers had permanent quarters, they were probably on Rheneia. In 1878 there were no habitations whatever on Delos: on Rheneia, only a cottage or two, and the buildings erected by the Greek government for the officers of quarantine.

The foregoing sketch will have served to show the historical

<sup>1</sup> Theodoretus, *Hist.* iii. 16, πέμψας δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ Δῆλον καὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρηστήρια, εἰ χρὴ στρατεύειν ἐπηρώτα τοὺς μάντις· οἱ δὲ καὶ στρατεύειν ἐκέλευον καὶ ὑπισχυνοῦντο τὴν νίκην. Gibbon has not recorded this detail, which, trivial in itself, is highly characteristic of Julian's reverence for pagan precedents.

<sup>2</sup> Delphi, Dodona, and Delos were the three holy places beyond the limits of Macedonia at which Alexander had intended to build new temples: Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, ii. 38.

<sup>3</sup> The presage of the meteor ('*facem cadenti similem...minax Martis sidus*,' Ammian. Marcell. xxv. 2) may have been more instantly striking to Julian, if he had in his mind the only oracle concerning his campaign of which Theodoretus (*l. c.*) gives the terms: νῦν πάντες ὠρμήθημεν θεοὶ νίκης τρόπαια κομίσασθαι παρὰ Θηρὶ ποταμῷ (the Tigris). τῶν δ' ἐγὼ ἡγεμονεύσω, θοῦρος πολεμόκλονος Ἀρης.

<sup>4</sup> Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> *Recherches sur Délos*, p. 129.

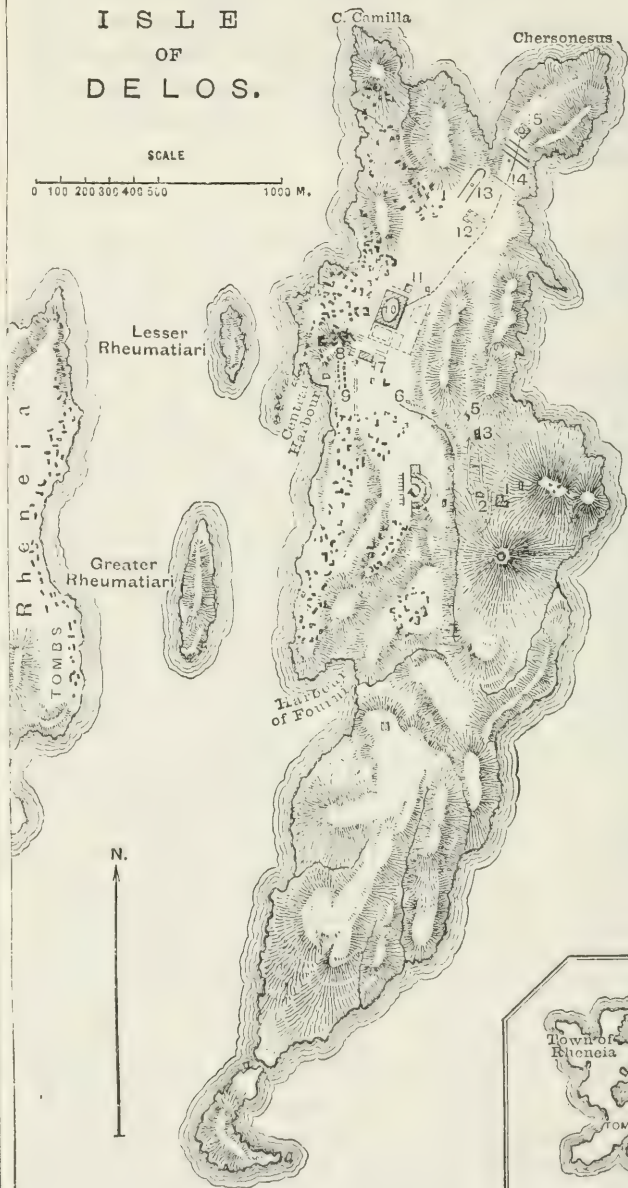
interest of the Delian inscriptions. Many gaps in our previous knowledge have been filled up. Much that was dim and vague has become vivid and precise. For the years from 300 to 100 B.C. the gain is especially large. Delos stands out with a more continuous clearness in its relations to the Greek and Roman world. The Sacred Isle is like a tiny disc in which a wide landscape is mirrored.

This general survey taken, we may next turn to the new results in topography. On the accompanying sketch-map, reduced from M. Lebégue's, I have marked the principal points of interest. (1) The summit of Cynthus, on which stood the temple of Zeus Cynthus and Athena Cynthia. (2) A grotto, once used as a temple, in the western face of Cynthus. (3) The temple of Serapis (designated by earlier writers as a temple of Isis), near the junction of two sacred roads leading to the temples higher up on Cynthus. (4) The theatre, of which the left wing was hollowed out of the hill, while the right was of marble. (5) A small amphitheatre, capable of seating about 100 persons, where the Delian Senate, or its committee (*πρυτάνεις*), may have met. (6) A deep ravine, which some take for the bed of the stream called the Inopus. (7) Ruins of the temple of Apollo in the plain. (8) A dot marking the place where the Naxian colossus of Apollo stood. (9) Ruins of a portico built by Philip V. of Macedon (220—179 B.C.). (10) An oval basin, about 280 ft. by 200, encircled by a granite wall about 4 feet high, and placed in a large rectangular precinct once surrounded by a colonnade. This was the famous *τροχοειδὴς λίμνη*. The swans of Apollo floated upon its waters, which were brought by a conduit still traceable at the north-east corner. Near it was the palm-tree at which Leto had given birth to Apollo: also the *κεράτινος βωμός*, the altar made by Apollo with the left-horns of she-goats slain by Artemis on Cynthus (according to Callimachus),—or with the right horns of oxen (Plutarch). Around this was performed the ancient dance called the *γέρανος*. 'Behind' the *κεράτινος βωμός* (Diog. Laertius viii. § 13)—more we do not know—was the altar of Apollo Genitor (*γεννήτωρ, γενέτωρ*), on which only cereal gifts were offered, and which was thence called 'bloodless,' or 'the

# ISLE OF DELOS.

SCALE

0 100 200 300 400 500 1000 M.



altar of the pure.<sup>1</sup> It was said that, when Pythagoras visited Delos, this was the only altar at which he worshipped.<sup>2</sup> Near this, too, must have been the *κακὸς βωμός*, round which sailors were whipped, with their hands tied behind their backs, while they bit morsels of sacred olive.<sup>3</sup> (11) A modern well (perhaps on the site of an ancient one), called 'the well of the Maltese.' (12) Site of a gymnasium. (13) A stadium. (14) Remains of walls built across the north-east isthmus; probably a dépôt for slaves to be sold. (15) A clear and copious spring. Some think that this was the 'Inopus,' and that it was connected with the well (No. 11).

The points to which research has been chiefly directed since 1873 are marked on our map by (2) and (7). M. Lebégue has explored the grotto on Mount Cynthus. M. Homolle has examined the site of Apollo's temple in the plain.

The grotto<sup>4</sup> is about half-way up the western slope of Cynthus. The bare hill is here cleft by a long and narrow ravine with granite sides. The grotto spans the lower end of this ravine. The granite sides of the ravine form natural side-walls for the grotto. The roof is artificial. It is formed by five pairs of massive stones, leaning against each other by their tops. A number of rough granite blocks had been piled on the roof. Some of these blocks have rolled off. Those that remain have a layer of small stones and lime between them and the roof. They help to make the grotto look like a natural cavern. The western entrance of the grotto was closed by a wall with a door in it, of which parts remain. The eastern end, resting against the mountain, was not so completely closed but that light could penetrate. The floor, though artificially raised, was not paved. As the ravine widens in descending, the grotto widens also. At the west entrance it is about 16 ft. broad: at the back, only 7 feet 8 inches. From the top of the roof (inside) to the

<sup>1</sup> Cyril, *Adv. Julian.* ix. 307 B (quoting Porphyry, *περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων*), θεωρῆσαι δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δῆλον ἔτι σωζομένου βωμοῦ· πρὸς δὲ οὐδενὸς προσαγομένου παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ θυομένου εὐσεβῶν κέκληται βωμός. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 848, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαϊότατον βωμόν ἐν Δήλῳ ἄγνόν ἐναι τεθρυλλήκασιν, κ.τ.λ. Iamblichus,

*Vit. Pyth.* 5, τὸν ἀναίμακτον λεγόμενον τὸν τοῦ Γενέτορος Ἀπόλλωνος βωμόν.

<sup>2</sup> l. c.: Diog. Laert. viii. § 13: Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 6.

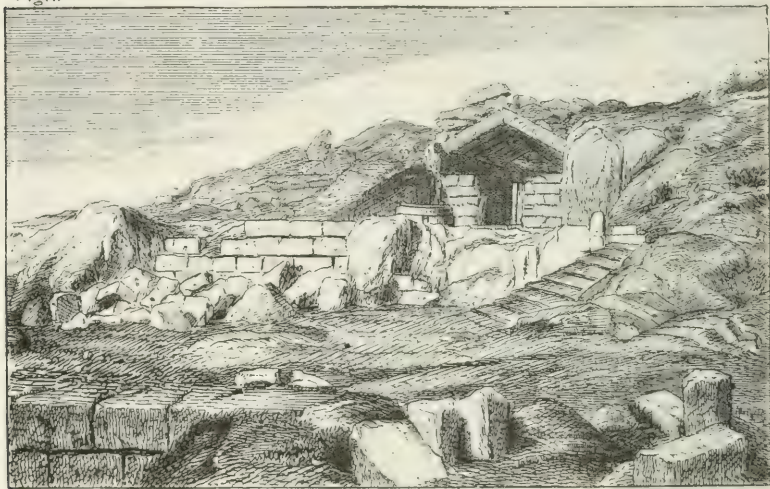
<sup>3</sup> Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 321.

<sup>4</sup> See Fig. 1. The original in M. Lebégue's work is from a drawing by M. É. Burnouf.

floor, its height is 18 feet 11 inches. Its length is 17 feet 1 inch.

Within the grotto, to the north side, is a deep receptacle for water, which is supplied by a small spring in the cavern. This is the *χάσμα*, which was a constant feature of oracular caves. On the floor of the grotto was found a pedestal, with the left foot of a statue still placed upon it. Other fragments of the same statue,—pieces of arm, leg, and shoulder, were found near: the statue was of good workmanship: it represented a young god, and was about 6 feet 6 inches high. Two marble claws were also found: M. Lebégue thinks that they belonged to a large lion.

Fig. 1.



Another marble fragment showed part of a tree's trunk with a lion's skin hanging on it. A holy table had been supported by two pieces of Parian marble. Fragments of amphoras (Thasian or Cnidian) occurred near the south-west corner of the grotto: one vase had borne the letters KPO. Lastly, it must be noted that the pedestal above-mentioned is supported on one side by a huge block of granite, which had been cut to receive it. Outside the west front of the grotto was a sacred precinct. Here, at about 23 ft. from the door of the grotto, were found two fragments of a rough marble basin, notched in three places as if to receive the metallic legs of a tripod, which had probably

supported a cortina. Near this some Athenian coins were found. Between the fragments of the basin and the door of the grotto a small square pit was filled with cinders, probably from ancient sacrifices: but the precinct was too small for sacrifice on any large scale. A flight of thirteen steps, descending from the south-west corner of the temenos, leads to a sacred way which went down the mountain and came out near the temple of Serapis.

These facts warrant at least the following inferences:—

1. The grotto on Cynthus was a primitive temple,<sup>1</sup> whoever were the people that first worshipped there. It shows the very genesis of the early temple from step to step. First, an altar in the open air; then a roof to shelter the altar; next, a door to keep out the profane; lastly, a precinct added to the house of the god.

2. This temple was the seat of an oracle. The presence of the cleft for water (χάσμα) in such a cavern would of itself make this almost certain. The grotto on Cynthus is analogous in this respect to the adyton at Delphi, the cave of the Clarian Apollo, the cave of Trophonius, the shrines of the Sibyl at Cumae and Lilybaeum, the oracle of the earth in Elis, with many more that could be named.<sup>2</sup> We need not lay stress on the probable presence of tripod and cortina.

3. Among the deities once adored here was a young god whose statue shows Greek workmanship of a mature age.

4. The whole character of the grotto proves, however, that it must have been used as a temple long before such Greek art existed. We have mentioned the enormous block of granite in which the pedestal of the statue was set. This block was probably a *βαίτυλος*—one of those stones which were worshipped as having fallen from heaven, or as emblems of gods. It may have symbolized the god originally worshipped in the grotto, before the days of even archaic sculpture. The baetyl and the later statue probably represented different gods. But they may have represented the same god, just as stones (*πέτραι*), said to have fallen from heaven, were worshipped in the ancient temple of the Orchomenian Charites conjointly with ‘the finished

<sup>1</sup> Virgil's phrase, ‘*Templa dei sacro venerabar structa vetusto*’ (*Aen.* iii. 84) is referred by M. Lebégue to the grotto.

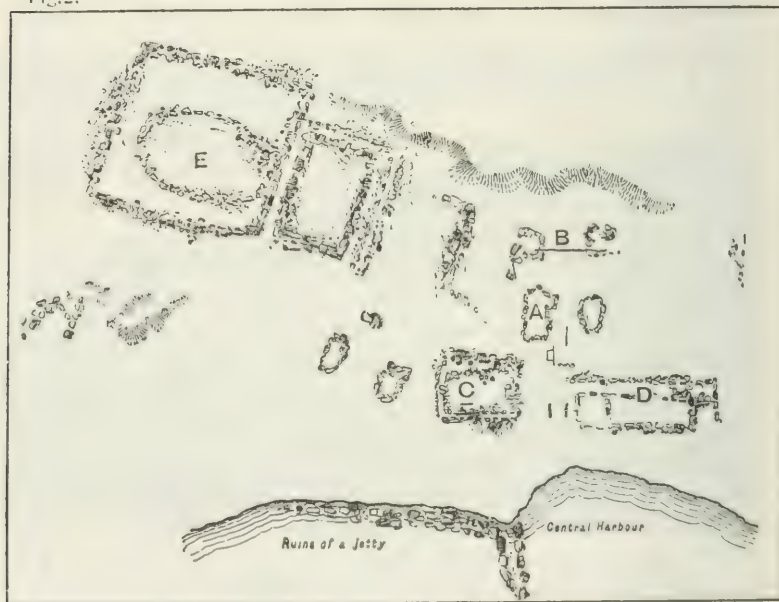
I hesitate to recognise so special an allusion.

<sup>2</sup> Lebégue, p. 89.

statues' (*ἀγάλματα τὰ σὺν κόσμῳ πεποιημένα*), made in the time of Pausanias himself, who notes a similar conjunction of sacred stone (*πέτρα*) and brazen image (*εἰκὼν*) in the Orcho-menian shrine of Actaeon.<sup>1</sup>

Before going further, or discussing the place which this grotto held among the shrines of Delos, we must refer to the results obtained by M. Homolle at another point. His excavations were upon and around the site occupied by the temple of Apollo in the plain between Cynthus and the sea. I give a tracing (Fig. 2) from the plan published by M. Blouet, in the *Expédition*

Fig. 2.



*Scientifique de Morée* (Paris, 1838, vol. iii. pl. 1), which will serve to indicate roughly where the groups of remains lie. A, site of temple of Apollo; B, ruins of a portico about 197 feet long. It was of Oriental character, supported by pillars of which the capitals were formed by pairs of kneeling bulls, and adorned with heads of bulls in the middle of the triglyphs. C, remains too slight to permit measurement or description of the buildings

<sup>1</sup> Paus. ix. 8, 4.

to which they belonged ; one was a large oblong, facing east and west. D, remains of the portico of Philip (in grey marble). E, the oval basin.

An examination of the remains at A has enabled M. Homolle to determine the dimensions and the general arrangement of Apollo's temple. Two rectangles can be traced, one exterior, the other interior. The exterior rectangle supported the steps and columns of a portico. It measured, on the north and south sides, 29·49 mètres, or 96 feet 9 inches nearly ; on the west and east sides, 13·55 mètres, or 44 feet 6 inches nearly. The interior rectangle supported the walls of the cella, which stood between two porticoes, one on the east, the other on the west. It measured, on the north and south sides, 20·67 mètres, or 67 feet 7 inches nearly ; on the west and east sides, 7·53 mètres, or 24 feet 8 inches nearly.

The temple at Delos was thus a little smaller than the temple at Athens known as the Theseion, and its plan was similar. It was enclosed by a colonnade (*περίστυλος*) ; it comprised pronaos, naos, and opisthodomos ; it had six columns on each front, east and west (*ἑξάστυλος*), and it was peripteral,—the columns at each side (north and south) being thirteen in number, counting the corner column. There is nothing to show whether the entrance was at the west front, on the side of the sea (as practical convenience would rather have suggested), or on the east, as in the temples of the Athenian acropolis. M. Homolle notes that the columns (Doric) were fluted only at the base of the shaft and again just below the capital ; the rest of the shaft was left smooth. Other temples exhibit the same peculiarity. But at Segesta (for example) it is merely a sign of unfinished work. At Delos it appears to have been a deliberate device of artists who sought novelty at the expense of good taste. On the whole, the mason's work is excellent ; one mark is present which M. Beulé regards as characteristic of good Greek building—the double-T joining of stones ; but in the style M. Homolle finds a certain heaviness, a want of character and elegance. Judging by the evidence of the remains themselves, he concludes that the temple of Apollo is 'at least of the fourth century B.C., and doubtless of the beginning of that century.'

Along the outer rectangle of the temple, on its north side, was

an avenue about 9 feet 10 inches broad, which was once bordered on right and left by two lines of small marble pedestals. Here were found some 150 inscriptions, chiefly accounts relating to the temple of Apollo and the temple of Artemis. North of this avenue, which separated it from the temple of Apollo, stood a much smaller temple on a different plan: it had four columns on each front, east and west, but no columns on the sides, north and south (*ἀμφιπρόστυλος*); the cella was probably square: it had pronaos and naos, but no opisthodomos. This may have been the Artemision; or, if Artemis shared the temple of Apollo, the Letoön. The former hypothesis seems the more probable, but it is not certain.

Such, in brief, is the sum of the topographical results to which M. Homolle's researches have led. He had to deal, in truth, with 'the ruins of ruins,' and it required such skill and perseverance as his to ascertain thus much. But, even if he had not been rewarded with some 350 new inscriptions, and with some valuable relics of art, his labour would not have been in vain. We now know the exact site, the size, the character, and the arrangements of Apollo's Delian temple.<sup>1</sup>

A question at once occurs. Was this temple (which M. Homolle would refer to the beginning of the fourth century B.C.) the earliest which Apollo possessed at Delos? And if not, can any earlier temple of Apollo be traced? M. Lebégue holds that the grotto on Cynthus was the primitive temple and oracle of Apollo, who succeeded a solar god previously worshipped there; that, when the later temple was built in the plain, some of the legends, migrating from Cynthus, attached themselves to the new site; but that the grotto continued to be the *oracle*, just as the temple (*ἱερόν*) of Apollo is distinguished from the oracle (*μαντεῖον*) at Claros and at Branchidae.<sup>2</sup> Among the texts on which this view relies, two are prominent: (1) Leto, according to the Homeric hymn (v. 17), bears her children, 'reclining against the lofty hill, the slope of Cynthus, close to the palm, by the streams of Inopus.' And Leto promises (v. 80) that Apollo shall build 'a beauteous shrine, to be an oracle of men,' at Delos first of all, before he builds his temples elsewhere. This, it is argued, shows (i) that the birthplace of Apollo was

<sup>1</sup> *Monuments grecs*. No. 7, pp. 28—34.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. vii. 3, 1; 2, 6.

originally placed on Cynthus, not in the plain; (ii) that there was an oracular shrine of such immemorial age that the building of it could be ascribed to Apollo himself. This latter point may be allowed. As to the first, the words of the hymn would, I think, be equally suitable if the scene of Leto's pangs had been in the neighbourhood of the oval basin. I rendered *κεκλιμένη πρὸς* 'reclining *against*,' for argument's sake: but it is not necessarily more than 'reclining *towards*,' i.e. on the ground at the foot of the hill. (2) Themistius (circa 360 A.D.) says:—'In Delos the inhabitants say that a certain temple is shown, simple in style and furniture, but venerable by reason of its tradition and of the legends which are told concerning it. There, the story has it, Leto was released from her pangs when she was giving birth to the two gods; and, in honour of the spot, Apollo fixed there his sacred tripods, and thence gave his decrees to the Greeks.'<sup>1</sup> This passage is very striking. Clearly it would not apply to a handsome temple in the plain, close to the town. It implies that the shrine had to be sought out. And the description applies exactly to the grotto on Cynthus, before which a tripod appears to have stood in a conspicuous place.

It has been seen that the Phoenicians had probably been in contact with Delos before the worship of Apollo had come thither from Asia, and had brought with them a cult which is found in Delos at a later time—that of Melcarth, the Tyrian Heracles, a solar divinity. M. Lebégue seems unquestionably right in holding that the grotto on Cynthus was once associated with Apollo. If this grotto was the most venerable sanctuary of the island at the early time when the worship of Apollo first came in, it would doubtless have become the dwelling of the new god as soon as he had prevailed over his predecessors. Among the marble fragments found in the grotto were a lion's claws and part of the trunk of a tree, covered with a lion's skin.

<sup>1</sup> *Orat.* 18. 1, ἐν Δήλῳ, ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ, νεών τινα φασὶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι δείκνυσθαι, λιτὸν μὲν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, εὐαγὴ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ διηγήμασιν. ἐνθα κατέχει λόγος, ὅτε ἔτικτεν ἡ Λητώ τοὺς θεοὺς, λυθῆναι τὰς ὠδῖνας αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, τιμῇ τοῦ

χαρίου μετὰ κλάδων ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἱεροὺς πηγνύμενον τρίποδας θεμιστεύειν ἐκεῖθεν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. The word θεμιστεύειν reminds us that in the Homeric hymn Θέμις attends the birth of the Delian Apollo (94).

I think that these objects may help us to conjecture what happened. The solar god of Tyre may have been in possession of the grotto when Apollo came. By and by Apollo became its principal divinity; but the memory of his predecessor was still preserved, and the granite baetyl remained in the grotto as the sacred emblem of the earlier solar god. Afterwards a new temple for Apollo was built in the plain. This now became the principal seat of his worship. Greeks visiting the less frequented grotto on Cynthus, and finding there the traditions of a god whom they identified with their own Heracles, worshipped the ancient god of the grotto as Heracles; and thus the Tyrian sun-god, though still associated with Apollo, may once more have become the chief deity of that primitive shrine. The number of Tyrians who visited or inhabited Delos in the age of its commercial prosperity would have favoured such a result. The temple of the Tyrian Heracles at Delos is mentioned in an inscription.<sup>1</sup> The tripod and cortina were attributes of Heracles as well as of Apollo. So long as oracles continued to be given at the grotto, they were doubtless given in Apollo's name.

But, granting that the grotto was the *earliest* temple of Apollo, was it his *only* Delian temple down to such a date as (say) 400 B.C., the superior limit which M. Homolle is disposed to assign for the temple in the plain? I will briefly state the reasons which make such a hypothesis very difficult to my mind.

1. In the days of Ionian greatness the Pan-Ionic festival drew to Delos all the wealth of the race. The Homeric hymn pictures the Ionians of all cities vying with each other in the display of their 'swift ships and great possessions.' All were animated and united by a common sentiment of devotion to Apollo, the father of Ion. Is it conceivable that no fraction of their wealth was expended on an object which the spirit of the festival so strongly commended, and which would have brought public credit to the donor—on making offerings (*ἀναθήματα*) to the god? It is surely certain that, besides votive statues, the Apollo of the Ionians must have received gifts of gold, silver, bronze, gifts of those various materials and forms which his

<sup>1</sup> *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* 2271.

temple is known to have contained at a later time. But if he then had no temple but the grotto,—17 feet long, with an average breadth of 11, seamed by the chasma, and partly open to the sky,—where could those gifts have been preserved? The Greek priests had always the instinct of bankers. When the fountain of piety, quickened by vanity, was flowing so freely, they would not have seen it run to waste. It would have been strange if, in the course of two or three centuries, the whole wealth of the Ionian world had not housed their god and his treasures in some better abode than the granite hovel half-way up Cynthus.

2. Supposing—though to me the supposition is scarcely possible—that no new temple of Apollo had been built in the Ionian days, at least the sixth century B.C. would hardly have passed by without seeing it arise. Peisistratus showed devotion to Delos. If the Delian Apollo still lacked a treasure-house, to build one for him would have been to balance the influence which the Alemaeonidae had gained by a similar attention to the Apollo of Delphi. Polycrates, again, by becoming the founder of a Delian temple, could have secured just the hold which he desired to have on the Sacred Island.

3. Thucydides says, speaking of the formation of the Delian Confederacy (i. 96), *ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακῶσια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ταμιεῖόν τε Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐγίγνοντο*. The word *ταμιεῖον* means that the great sums raised by the levy of tribute on the allies were kept for security in the temple at Delos, as they were afterwards kept in the temple on the Acropolis: we remember that the sacred treasurers at Athens were called *ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ*. Now the grotto on Cynthus certainly could not have been used for such a purpose: neither its structure nor its situation afforded the needful security.

Considering all these facts, we cannot, I think, resist the conclusion that, as early at least as 475 B.C., and almost certainly at a much earlier date, Apollo already possessed a temple in Delos distinct from the grotto. Now we know that the most ancient altars in Delos (the *κεράτινος* and that of Apollo Genitor) stood near the oval basin. And, as early at least as the *Odyssey*, the palm which saw Latona's pangs was shown near an altar. The site of Apollo's temple can scarcely be sought, then, elsewhere

than on the spot where remains now exist. If all these remains were of the same age, we should have our choice between referring them to a much higher date than 400 B.C., or supposing that the temple to which they belonged had occupied the site of an older building. I have stated my difficulty. I do not propound a definite solution, for which it may be doubted whether sufficient data exist. The hypothesis, however, to which I should incline is this. The temple, of which the remains have been examined by M. Homolle, may have been partially repaired at more than one time, and these fragments, from which he estimates the date of the whole building, may be of the age which he assigns to them, *i.e.* about 400 B.C. But, either on these foundations, or at least on this plain, a temple of Apollo, however rude, must have stood long before 400 B.C.; probably as early as 700 B.C.; in any case, not later than 475 B.C.

Before parting from the grotto on Cynthus, the students of ancient astronomy may be invited to consider a question which can scarcely fail to interest them. In the *Revue archéologique* of August, 1873, M. Burnouf intimated that 'a series of astronomical considerations, supported by numerous texts, had led him to think that Delos had been a centre of very ancient observations, and had performed for the Ionians a part similar to that which afterwards belonged to the Acropolis of Athens.' The solar character of Apollo was, he added, in favour of this view. This theory has been developed with great ingenuity by M. Lebégue. We have seen that the east end of the grotto—that which rests against Cynthus—was not completely closed. On an April morning a ray of the sun pierces the cavern and fills it in a moment. Apollo was supposed to spend the winter in Lycia, and to revisit Delos with the spring: we hear, too, of his Delian oracle being consulted in the morning. M. Lebégue suggests that the grotto may have been a station at which the process of the seasons was observed by noting the length and inclination of the sun's rays. Solstitial dials or gnomons were known from a remote age in Greece, which may have received them, through the Phoenicians, from Chaldaea. Referring to *Odyssey*, xv. 403,

νῆσός τις Συρίη κυκλήσκεται, εἴ που ἀκούεις,  
Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡέλιου,

‘There is an isle called Syria (Syros), west of Ortygia (Delos), where are the turnings of the sun’: M. Lebégue takes this to mean; ‘where the course of the sun on the ecliptic is observed from the grotto on Cynthus.’ Eustathius took ὅθι τροπαὶ ἥελ. to mean, ‘where (at Syria) is the sunset’; but adds this remarkable comment:—ἑτέροι δέ φασι σπήλαιον εἶναι ἐκεῖ, δι’ οὗ τὰς ἡλίου, ὡς εἰκός, ἐσημειοῦντο τροπὰς, ὃ καὶ ἡλίου διὰ τοῦτο σπήλαιον ἔλεγον. Didymus, also, in his commentary on the *Odyssey*, mentioned the ἡλίου σπήλαιον. Nothing could be more brilliant, more tempting, than this combination. It is an ungracious task to confess the fear that it is too brilliant. Yet I cannot but think that the words ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο merely express a hazy notion of the poet’s—whence derived, the Muses alone can tell—that ‘the Syrian isle’ lay beneath a turning-point in the sun’s heavenly course. As to the comment of the old grammarians, I conceive that it blends two elements. (i) This grotto in Delos may have been anciently called ‘the Cavern of the Sun’ because a solar god had been worshipped there; and (ii) τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο at once suggested the familiar word ἡλιοτρόπιον, a sun-dial.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcely any objects of ancient art have been discovered at Delos, except marble statues, more or less fragmentary. The state of the island when the French explorers came to it sufficiently explains this. But, among M. Homolle’s prizes, some are of the very highest interest and value. In July, 1878, he found about a dozen pieces of sculpture beneath the soil of a hollow which divides the group of remains at C from the ruins of the two temples at A. Among these sculptures were six statues of Artemis. They are of life-size, and are all archaic in style. Five of them are tightly swathed in a robe which, slightly drawn from right to left, shows the outlines of the legs. Where the arms remain, the left hangs by the side: the right arm is bent; the hand was held out. These five statues resemble those which were lately found in excavating the Asklepieion at Athens, and which had doubtless been thrown down

<sup>1</sup> Among the miscellaneous objects found on the top of Cynthus was part of a ἡλιοτρόπιον—viz.: the two supports, and a piece of the dial, which was

almost vertical, like the hemisphere at Ravenna and the old solar dials in the Naples Museum (Lebégue, p. 136).

from the temenos of Artemis Brauronia on the Acropolis. The latest in date of these five, though still archaic, shows the beginnings of a more free and masterly art: it is probably not much older than 500–450 B.C.

But the sixth is the most remarkable. It is a *bretas*, with the edges rounded, roughly marked off into three parts, for legs, torso, and head; arms are rudely indicated at the sides. On the left side it bears an inscription, saying that it was dedicated to the *ἐκηβόλος ἰοχέαιρα* by Nieandra, daughter of Deinodikos, a Naxian. The date of the image itself might be placed between 700 and 600 B.C., or 580 B.C. at latest. But the *type* which it represents is much older. Daedalus, said the legend,<sup>2</sup> first made statues to walk and see: his name symbolizes the first effort of the artist to represent the open eyes, and to give some measure of freedom to the limbs. The art called 'prae-daedalian' had left the eyes closed and the limbs sheathed, mummy-wise, in a scabbard resembling the posts of the *Hermæ*. The ancient wooden images—such as that of the Ephesian Artemis, swaddled in her tight, stiff robe—were of prae-daedalian character. Bupalus and Athenis of Chios are said to have sculptured marble about 540 B.C., the art having been then hereditary in their house for three generations. Delos had no school of sculpture. But Naxos had eminent sculptors from about 580 B.C., and the art must have prospered there during the period at which Naxos was the first island of the Aegean, *i.e.* from about 520 to 490 B.C. The Delian Artemis is apparently an imitation of a very ancient model in wood; and, being a ruder work than even the Artemis of Ephesus, may be regarded as representing the oldest *type* of Greek sculpture hitherto known.

Another figure represents a woman in a tunic, with wings on her shoulders and feet; the left foot scarcely touched earth; she seems flying. Prof. E. Curtius has shown that this half-kneeling pose is often used in early Greek art to express hasty motion—as in the case of the Gorgons chasing Perseus.<sup>3</sup> This is probably a winged Artemis, perhaps of the

<sup>1</sup> M. Homolle, in the *Bulletin de C. h.* iii. 99. See plates i., ii., iii. published with part i. of vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, pp. 11 f.

<sup>3</sup> E. Curtius, *Die knicenden Figuren der altgriech. Kunst* (1869).

6th century B.C. M. Homolle makes a remark *à propos* of this Delian series which is a seasonable corrective to exaggerated estimates of Oriental influence on early Hellenic art. This gradual development of a plastic type which the Delian statues of Artemis present—from the rudest bretas to the comparatively finished statue—reminds us how essentially original, how patiently self-disciplined, Greek sculpture was.<sup>1</sup>

From Delian topography and sculpture we return to epigraphy. The inscriptions have been surveyed in their historical aspect. But several of them demand particular notice, especially on philological grounds. Of these I will now speak,—beginning with the latest age, and thence remounting to the earlier.

Close as had been the relations between Rome and Delos, only two Latin inscriptions from the island had been known up to 1877, and these only through copies taken by Cyriac of Ancona (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii. 484, 485). No. 484 runs thus:—

BRANDVTIVS · L · L · ARISTIPPVS  
DESVOFECIT.

M. Homolle has found two fragments of this inscription, which show that on the stone it formed a single line, and that for FECIT we should read REFECIT. He has also discovered three new Latin inscriptions. One was on the plinth of a statue dedicated by 'the Italians and Greeks in Delos' to Aulus Terentius Auli f. Varro, who in 167 B.C. was one of the ten commissioners appointed to reorganise Macedonia. Another was on the base of a statue dedicated by several Romans to Mercury and Maia: it presents the forms *magistres* (*magistri*), and *Mircurio*.<sup>2</sup> The third was on the base of a statue dedicated by 'the Athenian people, the Italian and Greek merchants in Delos,' to Lucullus, the conqueror of Mithridates. He is styled *pro quaestore*. Lucullus went as quaestor to Asia with Sulla in 88 B.C., and was in the East till 80 B.C. His quaestorship, more than once noticed by Cicero, was mentioned by only one inscription previously known (*Corp. I. L.* i. 292, xxxiv).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* iii. 107; cp. *Monuments grecs*, No. 7. p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* i. 284.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* iii. 147.

Among the Greek inscriptions of Delos relating to Romans we note a dedication to Augustus by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, which (as restored by M. Homolle) styles him *Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεὸν Σεβαστὸν ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον* (i.e. pontifex maximus). The last words show that the date is after 13 B.C. Another Greek dedication (date, a few years B.C.), also by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων, honours *Λεύκιον Αἰμιλίον Παύλλον Παύλλου υἱὸν Λέπεδον* as 'Lendfactor and saviour.' This, as M. Homolle shows, must be Lucius Aemilius Paullus, son of the Paullus Aemilius Lepidus who was consul in 34 B.C., and grandson of Lucius Aemilius Paullus (cons. 50 B.C.). The latter (brother of the Triumvir) was the first of the Lepidi who took Paullus as a *cognomen*. His son made it his *praenomen*. The grandson reverted to its use as a *cognomen*. Mommsen has pointed out that the tendency to revive an ancient *praenomen*, or to adopt an altogether new one, is a patrician trait which coincides with the Sullan restoration: the hereditary patrician praenomina had in many cases been usurped by the new nobility. Before quitting the inscriptions concerning Romans, we may notice one in honour of Manius Aemilius Lepidus (48-42 B.C.), who is styled *ἀντιπαμίας* (pro quaestore).<sup>1</sup>

Two inscriptions in the Cretan dialect, both of which had been placed in the temenos of the Delian Apollo, are of curious interest. The first<sup>2</sup> is certainly later than 166 B.C., and may probably be referred to 150-120 B.C. It is a decree by the magistrates (*κόσμοι*) and city of Cnossus in Crete, conferring the titles of proxenus and citizen on one Dioscorides of Tarsus, —a city which, during the last 150 years B.C., was one of the chief seats of literary activity.<sup>3</sup> 'Following the example of the poet' (*κατὰ τὸν ποιητάν*)—i.e. Homer—Dioscorides, who was both an epic and a lyric writer, had composed an eulogy (*ἐγκώμιον*) on Cnossus, and had sent thither his pupil Myrinus —a native of Amisus in Pontus—to recite it. The emissary had performed his part with zeal,—'as was becoming,' the decree remarks, 'in the cause of his own teacher.' A copy of the decree was to be placed in the temple of Apollo Delphidius at Cnossus: another was to be sent 'to the people of Tarsus' (*πορτὶ τὸν Ταρσέων δᾶμον*); while leave was to be asked from

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* i. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Strabo, xiv. 673.

'the Athenians dwelling in Delos' to place a third copy 'in the most conspicuous place' available within Apollo's temenos. The allusion to Homer's eulogy of Cnossus cannot be justified from our *Iliad*, but clearly refers to that passage of the Homeric hymn which describes how Apollo committed the service of his Pythian shrine to 'Cretans from Minoan Cnossus' (*Hymn. in Apoll.* 391-544). Here, then, is a fresh proof that, about 150 B.C., this hymn was still ascribed without question to 'Homer.'

The inscription adds some valuable illustrations to the forms of the Cretan dialect. Thus we have the acc. plur. τὰς καταξίανς χαρίτανς : ἐσγόνος = ἐκγόνους : ὀσκίας = οἰκίας : θίνων = θείνων, for θείων : both τόνς and τός for τούς. Among the verbal forms, ἀκούσαντεν = ἀκούσαντες : ἴονσα = οὔσα : ποριόμενος = πορεύμενος in sense of ποριζόμενος, and similarly προαιριομένοις : τιμέονσα = τιμέουσα, as if from τιμέω, not τιμάω : ἀπήστελκε = ἀπέσταλκε : and the remarkable αἰτησάθθαι = αἰτήσασθαι. ὅπαι, with subjunctive, has the sense of ὅπως, 'in order that.' At the end we read, Αἰρέθη ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀναθέσιος τᾶς στάλας Μακκιάδων Θαρνυμάχῳ καὶ Λεόντιος Κλυμενίδα. M. Homolle regards αἰρέθη as 3rd pers. plur., but remarks that we should have expected the termination in -ν, comparing διέλεγεν, (*I. G.* 3050). I should take αἰρέθη to be 3rd pers. sing., and the construction to be like that of Lysias in *Eratosth.* § 12, ἐπιτυγχάνει Μηλόβιός τε καὶ Μνησιθείδης. In v. 18 there is a doubtful reading : M. Homolle gives ἀκούσαντεν τὰ πεπραγματευμένα καὶ τὰν [ἄλ]λαν (?) αἵρεσιν τῷ ἀνδρὸς ἂν ἔχων τυγχάνει εἰς τὰν ἁμὰν πόλιν. Perhaps [κα]λὰν : 'having heard his compositions (the poem), and those kind sentiments which he entertains towards our city' (as further evinced by a letter, ἔγγραφον, which Myrinus had read.)<sup>1</sup>

The date of the second<sup>2</sup> Cretan inscription is fixed by the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the contemporary Polybius, in a place which also illustrates the use of διάλαψιν (=διάληψιν) in this Cretan text for 'estimation;' ii. 61, τίνα γε χρὴ περὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ἔχειν διάληψιν; ...οἱ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν χώραν Κλεομένει προεῖντο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα...ἔπαισαν τῇ πατρίδι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς αἵρεσιν, 'through their attachment to the Achaean League.' The phrase of

our text, διαθησιόμενον (to recite) τὰ πεπραγματευμένα ὑπ' αὐτῷ, may again be illustrated by Polyb. iii. 108, ἐξ αὐτοπαθείας τοῦ Λευκίου διατιθεμένου τοὺς λόγους, 'the harangue of L. being founded on his own experience.' The phrase διατίθεσθαι ῥῆσιν, etc., was common in later Greek.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.* iii. 290.

Athenian archonship of Sarapion, which M. Dumont places in 134 B.C. It relates to a convention between three Cretan towns, Cnossus, Olus, Lato, by which the first-named was to have the arbitration (ἐπιτροπάν) in certain issues pending between the two latter. The archaeological interest here is for the Cretan calendar. Each of the three towns had different names for the months. The second day of the month Σπέρμιος at Cnossus is the second of Ἐλευσύνιος (*sic*) at Olus, and of Θιοδαίσιος at Lato. Similarly Νεκύσιος (Cnossus) answers to Ἀπέλλαιος (Olus) and Θεσμοφόριος (Lato). The month Δελφίνιος (Olus) corresponds with two of which the reading is doubtful,—ἄρ[*a* trace of ἄρχοντος?]ωβιαρίω (Lato), and Καρ[ώ?]μιος (Cnossus). This last was certainly not Κάρνειος. As to dialect, we have the dat. πόλι—whereas πόλει had been noted by Böckh as the constant Cretan form: ἔντων as 3rd plur. imperative of εἰμί: μέστα κα, with subjunct., as = μέχρι ἄν, 'until': genitive Διοκλείος = Διοκλέους: κριθένσι = κριθεῖσι: πορτὶ in compos. (πορτιγράψαι): αὐτοσαντοῖς for ἑαυτοῖς (in sense of ἀλλήλοις). So in the former inscription we find τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαθέταν = τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μ. In v. 19 there is a difficulty. The passage runs thus:—ἀποστηλάντων [*sic*] οἳ τε Κνώσιοι καὶ οἱ Λάτιοι καὶ οἱ Ὀλόντιοι πορτὶ τὸν ἐπιμελητὰν [the Athenian governor of Delos] πρειγείαν [= πρεσβείαν] καὶ γράμματα ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα ὥστε στάσαι στάλαν ἐς ἂν ἀναγραφῇσ . . τὰ δεδογμένα. M. Homolle thinks (and I agree with him) that after **ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΣ** . . there is not room for the four letters **ΕΤΑΙ** before **ΤΑ**. He says that there is room for two letters only.

Now I can suggest a restoration which gives the sense required, and which is satisfied by the insertion of just two letters, viz.: **ΦΙ**. I would read, ἐς ἂν ἀναγραφῇ σφι τὰ δεδογμένα, 'on which they may have their resolutions recorded.'<sup>1</sup> If the iota subscript of ἀναγραφῇ is absent (as the copy indicates), this was doubtless a mere slip of the stone-cutter's. In v. 53 of this same document he has given us προγραμμένον instead

<sup>1</sup> The epic σφι would not be at variance with the general complexion of the Cretan dialect. For the subjunct. after the relative, cp. Isocrates *Pan.* § 44, ὥστε . ἑκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν: and *U. cc.* in Goodwin,

*Moons* § 65, 1 n. 3. The Greek ἔχομεν ὃ τι εἰπόμεν seems to have been developed out of the negative form (where the subj. is deliberative), οὐκ ἔχομεν ὃ τι εἴρωμεν.

of *προγεγραμμένον*: a Neo-Hellenic curtailment which we certainly should not find in a public document of the second century B.C.

Passing upward from the Roman to the Macedonian period, we note some points of interest in an inventory drawn up by the *hieropoioi* of the Delian temple.<sup>1</sup> This mentions a gift dedicated by Perseus before he was king (*i.e.* somewhere between 200 and 179 B.C.); and one of the most recent items gives the name of Lucius Hortensius, doubtless the praetor of 171 B.C. The inscription belongs, probably, to the very last years of free Delos, 171–166 B.C. It exhibits the diphthong EI used both for II and for HI: thus *ἐνειρόσια*, *ἐνείσαν* (= *ἐνήσαν*): *τεῖ* as well as *τῇ*: *στήλει* as well as *στήλη*. The values of the objects are given in Attic terms (*εἰς Ἀττικοῦ λόγον*), but certain fractions are expressed in terms of the Delian copper currency (*Δήλιος χαλκοῦς*). The *weight* of an object is commonly denoted by the participle of *ἄγω*, or by the phrase *οὗ ὀλκή*, κ.τ.λ. But here we have a peculiarity,—the use of the neuter participle *ἶκον* even with a masculine noun; *e.g.* *ἄλλον (ῥυμὸν ?), ἔχοντα ἰστία, ἶκον* [‘weighing’] *εἰς Ἀττικοῦ λόγον δραχμὰς ΗΔ, χαλκοῦς Δήλιος ἐννέα*. The sign *ε* (half *ο*) is used for the half-obol; *Τ* (*τεταρτημέριον*) for the quarter-obol; the sign *λ* (perhaps from *χ*, initial of *χαλκοῦς*) for obol.

The Athenian age of Delos furnishes, first, an important bilingual inscription on which M. Ernest Renan has commented.<sup>2</sup> It is in Greek and Phoenician, and belongs to the fourth century B.C. The Greek text reads ... [Τ]ύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος ... [εἰκ]όνας οἱ ἐκ Τύρου ἱεροναῦται Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνέθηκαν. In the Phoenician text M. Renan deciphers the name of ‘the king Abdaschtoresh’ (‘servant of Astarte’). This name, he adds, corresponds with the Greek name ‘Straton,’ borne by several kings of Sidon; and may here indicate Straton the Philhellene (who reigned from about 374 to 362 B.C.), or else the Straton deposed by Alexander in 332 B.C. M. Renan regrets that the fragmentary inscription does not tell us how the name of Apollo was translated in Phoenician.

A puzzle is presented by the inscription which I have already mentioned as probable evidence for the fact that, soon after

<sup>1</sup> *Bulletin de C. h.*, ii. 570.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv. 69.

404 B.C., Sparta made a convention with Delos regarding the administration of the Delian temples.

The Greek alphabets may, with Kirchhoff, be classed geographically as Eastern and Western. The alphabets of Asia Minor, of the Aegean isles, and of Attica, belonged to the eastern group; that of Laconia, to the western, which was distinguished from the eastern by these among other traits:—(i) the use of H only as the sign of the rough breathing; (ii) the use of the sign Υ for the letter χ; (iii) the use of X or -|- with the value of ξ.

The first six lines of our inscription exhibit the characters of the Laconian alphabet as it was after 476 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the inscription is in characters of the eastern type: we have H for eta; X represents, not ξ, but (as now) χ. How are we to explain the fact that two different alphabets are used in two different parts of the same inscription? M. Homolle justly rejects the hypothesis that the inscription is a late copy of an older document. In such a case the original orthography, if not wholly altered, would have been consistently preserved.

I venture to propose a simpler explanation. This was a convention between Sparta and Delos, of which Sparta—victorious in the war—doubtless prescribed the terms. It was dated, on the one hand, by the names of the Spartan kings and ephors; on the other hand, by the names of the Delian magistrates. The first six lines of our inscription form the end of the part which prescribed the terms: these are in the Laconian alphabet. The names which mark the date are in the later Ionian alphabet. I conceive that the *terms* were framed at Sparta, and that a copy of them was sent to Delos. At Delos they were engraved on stone, to be set up in the temple; and the names marking the date were then added by the Delians, who, in making this addition, naturally used their own alphabet. Probably the authorities at Sparta did not know the names or styles of the Delian officials whom it was proper to record, and therefore, in sending the terms, merely directed that such and such Spartan names were to be added beneath; leaving the Delians to complete the task of dating the document. It may

<sup>1</sup> See Table II. in Kirchhoff's *Studien zur Gesch. des Griech. Alphabets* (3rd ed. 1877).

be noted that in the latter or Ionian part we find  $\Omega$  for omega. This sign, as denoting omega, occurs at Miletus about 540 B.C., but not earlier.

But the interest of the new Delian inscriptions culminates in the oldest of all—that which is found on the left side of the archaic *bretas* representing Artemis. It consists of three hexameter verses, written *βουστροφηδόν*,—the first, from left to right. Reversing the second line, we read:—

ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΗΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝΘΚΗΣΟΛΟΙΠΟΧΕΑΙΡΘΙ  
 ΦΟΡΗΔΕΙΝΟΔΙΚΘΟΤΟΝΑΘΣΙΟΕΒΣΟΧΟΣΑΛΘΟΝ  
 ΔΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΕΟΣΔΕΚΑΣΙΑΝΕΤΘΒΡΑΘΣΟΔ  
 ΑΛΟΧΟΣΜ

that is :

Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἐκηβόλῳ ἰοχεαίρῃ,  
 κούρῃ Δεινοδίκου τοῦ Ναξίου ἑξοχος ἄλλων,  
 Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνήτη, (Φ)ράξου (?) δ' ἄλοχος· μ(ε).

The sculptor's name, with *ἐποίησεν*, may have followed, as M. Homolle thinks. Hitherto the older alphabet of Naxos had been known from only two inscriptions. 1. One was that on the base of the Naxian colossus of Apollo at Delos, first noticed by Spon, which Bentley read as an iambic trimeter (with hiatus), *ταύτου λίθου εἶμ' ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας*, 'I am of one stone, the image and the pedestal.' The first letters are (Τ)ΟΑΦΥΤΟ, as if *αὐτοῦ* had been written *ἄφυτοῦ*, a phenomenon in which Kirchhoff<sup>1</sup> could scarcely believe, but which M. Homolle's accurate transcript confirms. 2. The other early Naxian inscription is on a bas-relief at Rhomaïko, a village not far from Orchomenus, on the road to Chaeronea: it reads (Θ)ελξήνωρ ἐποίησεν ὁ Νάξιος· ἀλλ' ἐσίδεσθε.

Both these inscriptions may be referred to the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century B.C., say to 520–490 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Now the new inscription has a mark which at once distinguishes it, and affords a presumption that it is older. This is the presence of **Θ**, with three horizontal bars, instead of **H**. The

<sup>1</sup> *Studien*, p. 73.

ten und fünften Jahrhunderts,' *ib.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Etwa um die Schneide des sechs-

p. 78.

form **Ε** occurs in the inscription by the mercenaries of Psammitichus at Abu-Simbel (circ. 620 B.C.), in the older inscriptions of Thera, and in others of which the date may be placed before or about 540 B.C. The later form **H** occurs in texts of Melos and Paros, from about 540 B.C., and in the Rhomaïko inscription from Naxos. In both its shapes—the older **Ε** and the later **H**—this character is found serving a double purpose: (1) normally to denote the long *e*: (2) *occasionally* to denote the rough breathing—the use for which the Western alphabets regularly reserved it.

But our inscription presents new modifications of these uses:—

(1) In **Ε**κηβόλω, **Ε** *by itself* denotes *epsilon with the rough breathing*.

(2) In **ΔεινοδικΕο**, for **Δεινοδίκου**, it perhaps serves, as M. Homolle suggests, to aspirate the *κ*. While koppa was in use,<sup>1</sup> it, not kappa, was preferred before *o* and *u*. Where kappa was so placed, the need of a complementary sound may have been felt. As, however, we have **Φόρη**, it is not easy to see why we have not **ΔεινοδιΦο**. **Ε** does not strengthen *o* to *ou*, for we have simply **το Ναξιο** for **τοῦ Ναξίου**.

(3) In **ΝαΕσίο**, **ΞΕσοχος**, **Εσ** stands for *ξ*, which in the older inscriptions is normally expressed by *χσ*. Thus **Ε** *alone* stands for an aspirated *κ*, just as above for an aspirated *ε*.

(4) Most remarkable of all is **ΑΛΕΘΝ**. No one, I think, who examines the facsimile given by M. Homolle will have any doubt that the word is rightly read thus. The letters are, indeed, clear. The preceding **ἔξοχος** is clear also. After **ἔξοχος** (which must be *fem.*), in hexameter verse, **ἀστῶν** is the only alternative which presents itself, and the word is certainly not that. Assuming, then, that the writer meant **ἄλλων**, how are we to explain the spelling? If it was a mere blunder of the stone-cutter, it was at least a strange one. In the Greek **ἄλλος** *yodh* does not elsewhere appear under a vowel form: nor is it

<sup>1</sup> The mere presence of the koppa is a point on which it is unsafe to insist here. In Kirchhoff's opinion (*op. cit.* p. 39) the known evidence does not

compel us to suppose that the koppa had fallen into disuse so early as about Ol. 60 (540 B.C.).

likely that **Θ** (originally cheth) should, among its other uses, have served for the yodh. Possibly **Θ** is here the aspirate; the effect of a double  $\lambda$  in  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  may have been given by writing  $\alpha\lambda\text{-}\eta\omega\nu$ : or, if  $\lambda$  is in itself the archaic equivalent of  $\lambda\lambda$  the aspirate might be regarded as developed by the double letter.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up: (1) the *form* **Θ**, instead of **H**, points to a date earlier than about 540 B.C.; (2) the *use* of **Θ** is here various and (apparently) inconstant. It denotes long  $e$ ; but long  $e$  is *also* denoted by **E**, as in **ΚΑΣΙΓΝΕΘΗ**, **ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ**. It stands, not only for the aspirate, but also for an aspirated  $e$ , and for an aspirated  $\kappa$  before  $\sigma$ . In specimens of the Eastern alphabets dating from about 600 to 540 B.C. **Θ** is already fixed to two uses, (1) as the long  $e$ ; (2) occasionally, as the aspirate. The fluctuating and seemingly tentative employments of **Θ** in our inscription point to a time when the sign **Θ** had been newly introduced, and when its application still varied with individual or local caprice.

Combining the epigraphic evidence with that afforded by the type of the Artemis, we can scarcely be far wrong if we refer the inscription to about 650-600 B.C. It would thus be of approximately the same age as the writing on the colossus at Abu-Simbel, and would rank among the very oldest specimens of Greek writing known to exist. I may remark that **ϸ** for beta, which this old inscription shows to have been early Naxian, had already been proved for Paros, Siphnos, Thasos, and Ceos. The form **Γ** for gamma had been proved for the same islands,—also as one (the latest ?) of three Cretan forms, and as a form used at Athens both before and after the adoption of the matured Ionic alphabet in 403 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the foregoing pages has been twofold: first, to arrange the facts derived from the new researches in a general survey of Delian history; secondly, to mark the chief results in special departments, with such comments as they suggested. I have elsewhere sketched for English readers the system of the

<sup>1</sup> Another possibility which occurs is that,  $\lambda$  standing for  $\lambda\lambda$ ,  $\eta$  is the termination of the feminine stem.

<sup>2</sup> See Tables I. and II. in Kirchhoff's *Studien*.

French school at Athens.<sup>1</sup> It is well exemplified by these labours on ground which demanded so much skill and so much perseverance. Two successive directors, M. Burnouf and M. Dumont, encouraged the efforts of two successive explorers; the work of M. Lebégue in 1873 was completed by that of M. Homolle in 1877, 1878, and 1879. An English society for the promotion of Hellenic studies has a wide field open to it. It might do good service by undertaking the photographic reproduction of the most important Greek manuscripts in the libraries of Europe;<sup>2</sup> the influence of its members might well be employed in promoting the institution of travelling studentships, or other aids to archaeological study abroad; and, without transgressing the bounds of reasonable hope, it might further contemplate the eventual establishment of an English institute at Athens. France and Germany have long possessed such institutes; Russia is now to have one; all that is needed in order to secure a similar advantage for England is the co-operation of those sympathies to which our Society appeals. The value of such a permanent station has frequently been illustrated by fruitful enterprises, but seldom, perhaps, more signally than by the French exploration of Delos.

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, vol. 33, p. 776 (Nov. 1878).

<sup>2</sup> The cost of photographing the seven plays of Sophocles in the Laurentian MS. (32, 9) at Florence has

been estimated at about £500. The number of subscribers (libraries or individuals) in Europe and America would probably be sufficient to warrant this or any similar undertaking.

R. C. JEBB.

## NEWLY DISCOVERED SITES NEAR SMYRNA.

No part of the Greek world is richer in tradition and in the memories of a prehistoric past than the district that lies within the limit of a day's excursion from Smyrna. In the small but fertile plain that surrounds the head of the gulf, a great power existed long before the Ionians emigrated from Greece to Asia Minor. The names of Niobe, Tantalus, Pelops, are all most intimately connected with Mount Sipylus. The mountain was one of the chief seats of the worship of the goddess called Cybele by the Greeks; and in that worship the connection between Greece and the East is more apparent than in almost any other. Any new traces of this old empire must therefore have some value; and though the following notes are the result only of a first preliminary survey, they may give some new information about a race that is as yet too little known.

A Turk, the trusty and intelligent servant of a very kind English friend, had accompanied us in several excursions; and he told me of some ruins near his village that had hitherto escaped notice. M. Weber, an archaeologist in Smyrna, went with us in our visit to the spot.

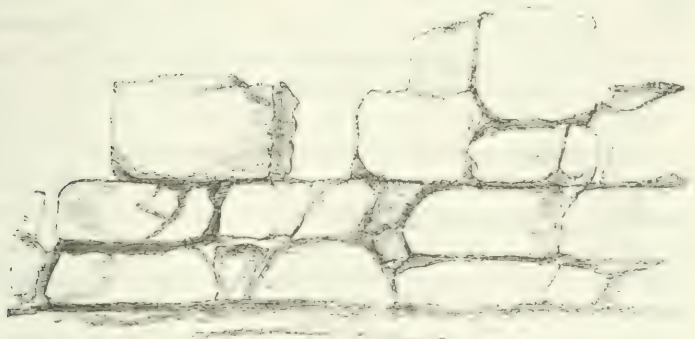
Soon after passing from the level plain of Bournabat on to the rough hilly tract which stretches from north to south, connecting Sipylus with Olympus, the road divides. The southern branch leads through the village of Kavakli-Deré; the northern, which lies much higher and keeps close to the line of the ancient road, passes by a *café* called Belcaivé. In the angle where the roads separate is a Turkish cemetery on the site of a temple. A few columns remain *in situ*, and fragments scattered about show that the building is of the Roman period.

During a hasty survey we observed no inscriptions. Overhanging Beleivé is a hill of about 1,300 feet in height, of which the summit, from this side, seems to form a long plateau. This hill is a very prominent object in the view seen from Smyrna to the east, and on this account, probably, has been taken as the central point of a sketch attached to the Admiralty charts. On approaching it from the west its appearance is still more striking; it seems like a broad cone severed, as if by the hand of man, from the range of Sipylus. On the west and south its sides are generally precipitous, much more so than on the east and north, but in one place in the southern face a glen breaks the rocky wall, and running up into the plateau, makes its southern boundary concave towards Beleivé. After five or ten minutes ascent from the *café* the entrance to this glen is reached, which is closed by a Cyclopean wall of polygonal stones. The



stones are of various sizes; some are small, others are six feet long. They are so fitted together as to produce a level surface. Its height is generally from six to ten feet, but at some places it has been broken down to a much lower level. Its thickness is about twenty feet, consisting of two similar fronts, with the interval filled, apparently by loose stones and earth. It runs from rock to rock across the entrance to the glen in a curve convex to the approacher; and no gateway has ever existed in it. Its length must be at least 150 feet. It would attract the eye of every traveller on the road, at certain points of which it would be in view, were it not for the dense thorn-bushes which clothe the

whole slope, except where there are bare rocks. These bushes both conceal the wall and render the ascent difficult, and on this account the remains have escaped the notice of almost every traveller. The summit is an elongated plateau, measuring about 1,800 feet round, and is completely encircled by a very massive wall. The stones are roughly squared and laid in horizontal courses. The thickness of the wall can scarcely be ascertained owing to its peculiar construction and ruinous state.



Among pottery of a plainer character, numerous fragments of Greek ware are scattered over the surface, some of a very early period, others with the well-known black Hellenic glaze. No fragments with figures painted on them were found. At some time after the city was destroyed the surface was cleared for agriculture, and the stones thrown up in heaps. A little digging under one heap made me certain that the ground had not been disturbed since the destruction of the city.

Towards the west end of the plateau there is a rocky hillock, which gives the whole hill the conical appearance that it has from the west, and conceals the plateau from the view of a spectator on that side. On this small hill is built the Acropolis, which is very similar in style to the Acropolis of Old Smyrna.<sup>1</sup> The natural rock is taken advantage of to the utmost, and walls are built where it fails. For example, the south-west

<sup>1</sup> A description of Old Smyrna is given, with a plan, in Curtius' *Beiträge zur Geschichte Klein-Asiens*, Berl. Akad. *Abhandl.* 1872; but a much

more careful and full account will be found in M. Weber's just published work, "*Le Siplylos et ses Ruines.*"

corner is simply bare rock slightly cut and smoothed; about four feet from the corner the rock fails, and is continued by an artificial wall along the western side. The corner of the rock projects a little beyond the line of the wall. On the Acropolis at Old Smyrna the middle part of the western wall is natural rock, but the two ends are artificial; and there also the rock projects beyond the line of the wall. In both cases the stones used for building are small, carefully squared and fitted blocks of the common trachyte of the country. This Acropolis is many times larger than that of Old Smyrna. Inside it, in the centre of the hill, there is a large square chasm in the rock, about twelve or fifteen feet deep, which may possibly have been used as a cistern. On the south slope of the hillock the lines of at least four walls can be traced. Abutting on the wall to the east is a small circular ruin which may have been, as M. Weber thought, a ruined tumulus like those near Old Smyrna. It is not more than eight feet in diameter. Further to the east, where the hillock rises above the level of the plateau, several flat shelves have been cut in the rock near one another at the same level, but not in one line. In these shelves small oblong sinkings have been made to a depth of about two inches. I counted ten of them. They are evidently made to hold the foundation of the outer wall of the Acropolis. A little to the north-east may be traced the line of several walls, built of squared stones like the Acropolis; they meet one another always at right angles, and evidently formed one building of considerable size.

The site commands the road which passes at the foot of the hill. In ancient time this was the road from Smyrna to Sardis, and thence into the interior of Asia Minor; and until the Hermus-valley railway was constructed, all merchandise from the Upper Hermus-valley and the country eastward entered Smyrna by this route. On the other side of the pass, at the village of Nymphi, there is another bold hill, isolated from the mountain range to the south. On it, besides the mediaeval castle on the summit, there are remains of early walls, built of much larger blocks of stone than the Acropolis of Old Smyrna. This fortress, like that in the pass, commands the road between Smyrna and Sardis. It must have been a strong place in early time; in the Hellenic period it seems to have sunk into decay, and again

under Byzantine and Genoese rule to have become a town of importance.

On another extensive plateau six hundred feet beneath the hill over Belcaivé, towards the east, Mr. Dennis and myself found, during a subsequent visit, clear traces of a Hellenic city. Scraps of pottery and tiles were scattered about in profusion, in character exactly like the pottery of the upper city. Most of the fragments are plain red ware, but distinctively Greek ware is quite well represented. We saw some rough holes recently dug, and were told that three large jars had been found, but no bones. This lower plateau adjoins the hill on which the upper city stands, and on it evidently the majority of the inhabitants lived.

Looking at the character of all these remains one sees that a Greek city of considerable size once stood here. The contrast between the utter ruin of the fortifications on the summit and the good preservation of the wall at the foot of the hill is very striking. Now, as Mr. Dennis pointed out, the wall at the foot is an outwork to defend the entrance to a glen that runs deep into the side of the hill; an enemy attacking the city would gain an advantage by finding an entrance to the glen. On the other hand, the outwork is of no value in itself, and we might argue that a victorious enemy had destroyed the upper fortifications and left the wall at the foot as not of any consequence. The pottery found is, in the majority of cases, of a primitive kind; on such a site as Erythrae, the great mass of the pottery is late.

On these grounds I venture an hypothesis.

The Greek immigrants occupied the Lydian city of Old Smyrna, with the small Acropolis that is still standing. The Greek Smyrna rapidly grew into an important city. It seems not to have been a great colonising and sea-faring state, like Miletus or Phocaea, but rather to have depended on the inland trade of which it is the natural coast terminus. The little Lydian Acropolis, which might be placed inside a respectable English dining-room, ceased to be a suitable centre for a city which doubtless ruled a wide country round about. The Greeks therefore founded a colony on the magnificent site which I have just described. Here they commanded the road and the two valleys of Smyrna and Nymphi. The colony, if we may judge from the

remains, was of far greater importance than the mother city; and this colony was the city destroyed by Alyattes. Here the Greek life centred, and here the Greek remains are found. The old Acropolis remained overhanging the harbour, but Alyattes did not take the trouble to destroy it with the same completeness with which he destroyed the more dangerous city. It still remains to find the Necropolis of the colony and thus prove or disprove the conjecture I have advanced.

The other site of which I propose to give a short account lies on a hill at the extreme northern limit of the level ground surrounding the Gulf of Smyrna. It is perhaps the most interesting relic of antiquity in the valley, as it gives the impression of greater antiquity than either of the two fortresses that we have just been describing.

Looking northward, from the quay of Smyrna across the gulf, we see the western part of Mount Sipylus sloping upward from a valley that opens on the sea at Cordelio. The effect is as if the spectator stood on the *λογεῖον* of a gigantic Greek theatre, of which the valley and the gulf formed the *ὀρχήστρα* and *πάροδοι*. Then straight opposite in the central wedge of the *κοῖλον* formed by the gradual ascent of Sipylus,<sup>1</sup> the eye is caught a little way up the slope by a bold hill whose summit looks like a cubical rock rising clear over the surrounding hills to about half the height of the highest point of Sipylus. The hill is now called Ada, "the island." Old Smyrna stands on the extreme right-hand point of the *κοῖλον*.

M. Weber, who was convinced that some ruins ought to be found in this part of Sipylus, between Old Smyrna and the ancient Temnos, corresponding to the Hieron of Cybele, noticed by Pausanias, was so impressed by this remarkable-looking hill that he started from Smyrna expressly to examine it. He was not disappointed, but discovered on the summit remains of considerable extent, and of the highest interest, which he found no difficulty in identifying as the Hieron. M. Weber published an account of this discovery, identifying the Hieron of Cybele with

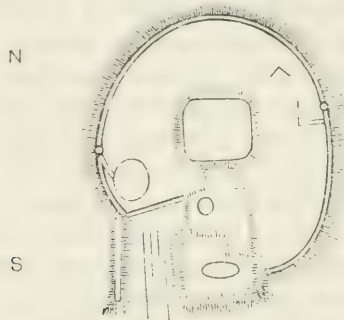
<sup>1</sup> The modern name of this part of Sipylus is Yamanlar Dagh, from the village of Yamanlar. It has been suggested by M. Fontrier that *σπήλαιον*, the name of a landing-place below the mountain, is simply *Σιπύλειον*.

The name ceased to have meaning to the popular mind, and was changed to a word that gave a distinct sense. The sound is almost the same in modern pronunciation. No caves occur at the place.

these ruins, and the throne of Pelops with a point on the highest summit of Sipylus ; but the description was buried in a local paper and never met with the recognition that its interest undoubtedly deserved. It was only from a chance allusion in the *Σμυπραϊκά* of Κυρ. Τσακύρογλος, that I learned of the proposed identification ; and the next day the brief description published by M. Weber this year in the *Μουσείον* of the Evangelical School in Smyrna, came into my hands. It was a point of much interest to see the place, and examine on the spot the arguments in favour of the proposed identification. There remained also the summit of Sipylus still unexamined, where the throne of Pelops was conjecturally placed ; and, though it is probable that this name was applied to the summit of a hill commanding a fine view, without any artificial addition, still there was always the possibility of finding some natural appearance, perhaps aided by the hand of man, to suggest the name. We therefore lost no time in visiting the place. On the first expedition almost all our time was spent in finding the way. Though visible from Smyrna, the hill is not in sight from the northern side of the gulf, nor from Bournabat, the side from which we started ; and the process of examining all the remarkable-looking hills in Sipylus is a slow one. On reaching the summit we had time only to take a hasty view of the ruins, collect some of the fragments of pottery that were scattered about, and make some sketches of the styles of building. A second visit gave us more time to examine the hill, though an unlucky accident made it impossible to take measurements for a plan. But it is easy to see that M. Weber's hypothesis as to the purpose of the ruins is at least inadequate ; he was probably so much absorbed in the ruins on the summit of the hill, that, like us on our first visit, he failed to notice the much more extensive traces of walls on the west and north sides of the hill. A brief account of the whole is necessary to make any criticism of his view intelligible.

From the highest point of Western Sipylus (Yamanlar Dagħ), extend two lofty ridges, the one towards the mouth of the Hermus, the other towards the eastern extremity of the gulf near Bournabat. These ridges form the upper tier of the *κοῖλον* in the natural theatre that we have described. Between them a number of lower ridges radiate from the central point and sink

gradually into the plain. Midway in one of these ridges, but far above them all rises the hill we speak of, like a cone, to the height of about 1,600 feet. Near the top, a wall extends almost completely round the hill, and at this point the cone is truncated. Inside the wall is a plateau, more or less level, about 200 feet in diameter, in the centre of which rises a square mass of rock with perpendicular sides about thirty feet high. A similar rock projects over the southern brow of the hill, making a wall unnecessary at this side, as one might drop a stone over the southern face, nearly 150 feet to the slope of the hill. These two 'gigantic altars,' as M. Weber calls them, are connected by a lower ridge, with flat surface and perpendicular sides about fifteen feet high, so that the whole forms an oblong mass



stretching across the plateau from north to south. West of this, and parallel to it, a lower ridge projects from the plateau towards the south. Between the perpendicular walls of these two ridges lies a narrow steep valley. It is closed at the top by the wall surrounding the plateau. In general this wall runs nearly in a circle round the hill; but it goes across the top of this valley in a straight line about eighty feet long. This part of the wall is Cyclopean; the stones are of various shapes and sizes, but none are larger than two feet by two and a half. They are roughly fitted together, and often open spaces are left between them; but on the whole the surface looks smooth and regular and the effect is good. The wall, which is several feet thick and about ten feet high, seems never to have risen above the level of the plateau, but rather to have been a support for it.

On the Acropolis of Erythrae near the summit I have seen a wall similar in style, and obviously built for the same purpose.

After crossing the lower ridge which projects to the south at this point, the wall goes along the western side of the hill. It is here built of carefully squared stones, about twenty-seven inches long by fifteen inches high. Few of them are left; there are never more than two courses in position, with some scattered about. In the middle of the western side is a gateway, about four feet wide. The road entered at a very oblique angle. It evidently passed round the north side of the hill. Down the northern slope, at the level where the hill parts from the chain, of which it is a member, there are again traces of a roadway cut through a small eminence. This is exactly the path by which the ascent is easiest for one coming from the Gulf of Smyrna.

Along the north side of the hill, the wall that surrounds the plateau is very rude and slight. After the careful building on the west we have first stones slightly cut, and placed with a rude appearance of tiers, and afterwards mere round fragments loosely piled up. The natural rock however makes a wall less necessary in this part. The stones are piled on the top of a rock, which is from three to ten feet in height. On the north-east, where this rock is highest, and where the wall is no longer required, a curious niche, like a sentry-box, is seen. It is in part at least artificial, its sides are three flat stones while another forms a roof overhead. Inside this it is possible to stand and look out over the natural battlement. This niche was in the front of a square tower, two of the side walls of which still can be traced. They are built of the same squared stones as the west wall and are more than three feet thick.

Before reaching this tower we passed a hole in the plateau. It is now almost filled up; but was once built regularly, and two of the walls built of stones placed so as to give a rude appearance of tiers can still be seen to a depth of about four feet. These two walls meet at a right angle.

Immediately beyond this tower there may have been a gate, as M. Weber states; but the wall can hardly be traced beyond this point, though it evidently extended round to the base of the lofty rock.

If we now ascend the oblong ridge we find that the rock in the centre of the plateau has been left in its natural state. Only

in one place is there a hole shaped like a grave and full of earth; it may possibly be artificial. Graves like it are scooped out of the limestone rock on a promontory south of Erythrae, which is known to have been a city before the Greek immigration; they probably did not belong to a Greek race, as bones only were found in them. It is in the other rock that M. Weber discovered the most interesting remains. At its north-east corner there is an entrance from the lower part of the ridge into an oblong chamber, fourteen feet broad, which penetrates into the rock till it attains a total length of twenty-one feet. At one time, apparently, there were walls of the natural rock on the north and east, only a narrow doorway having been made at the corner; but these rock walls seem afterwards to have been destroyed and replaced by artificial walls. These walls differ from all the others described, thin layers of lime being used between the stones. In the floor of this chamber, but not exactly in the centre, is sunk an inner chamber. The accumulated rubbish, and an enormous boulder dislodged from the rock above make it impossible, at present, to see the depth of this chamber or its shape at the back. From east to west it is about six feet and a half broad. The north end is semicircular; but as the south end is covered, it can only be asserted that the length was not less than twelve feet. The walls of this inner chamber are most beautifully built in courses about a foot high, six courses are visible at one end.

On the top of this southern rock, beyond the chamber, there is an oval depression now filled with earth. In the central part of the rocky ridge there is a similar depression but round; and again on the plateau, the road entering by the gate on the west appears to lead direct into another depression very much larger than the other two.

On the northern and western slopes of the hill, walls can still be traced on a far greater scale than at any other place I have seen in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. They are all built exactly in the same style as the western wall surrounding the plateau; on one stone there seemed to be small oblong sinkings as if for metal clamps. Several times one could trace the outline of square chambers of various sizes. Time, however, failed us, and we could not examine half of the slope.

Various as are the styles of building, they seem all to have

been employed (with perhaps the exception of the wall where lime is used) by the same race, each for a distinct purpose. Where a very massive wall is needed the Cyclopean style is suitable. Where the rock forms a natural wall, a still ruder style of building is put above it. Where a wall of no great thickness is required in a more level place, or where a house is to be built, carefully squared stones are used. Judging from the adaptation of the style to the purpose in view, we should therefore be led to the conclusion that the inner chamber in the rock was something peculiarly important or sacred, a tomb or a sanctuary.

Considering the dimensions of the ruins on the slope of the hill, we can hardly agree with M. Weber in finding on the summit simply the sacred precinct of the Mother Goddess. I should be more inclined to see here the Acropolis of an ancient city. The analogy of the Acropolis of Erythrae impressed me very much. There, also, there is Cyclopean building near the summit supporting a small plateau, and lower down is a wall of squared stones (different, however, in style from the building on this hill) which possibly may have surrounded the Acropolis completely.

It does not, however, follow that M. Weber is wrong in his hypothesis. It may well be that after the city had decayed, the sanctity of an ancient worship was still attached to the place, and the Greeks still came to the Ilieron of the Mother Goddess on the old Acropolis. It may be some confirmation of this theory that, whereas no pottery undoubtedly Greek was found on the hill at Kavakli-Deré two fragments of Hellenic ware of the fifth or fourth century were picked up on Ada. At each place hundreds of fragments were examined.

As to the throne of Pelops, it may well be that the summit of Ada was known by this name. Though the view to the north is cut off by the higher range, a very wide prospect remains east, south, and west. Moreover the hill is far the most suitable point for a survey of the plain in which the Bay of Smyrna lies, and which might be regarded as a little kingdom, defended by mountain chains on every side. Then whether the shrine were in the rock chamber or in some building lower down the hill we should still have the throne of Pelops *ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους*

ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν (Paus. v. 13, 7). It must however be confessed that the words of Pausanias in which the definite article is used before ὄρους are more naturally interpreted as referring to the highest point of Sipylus itself; but it is in general not safe to press the words of a Greek description so close.

But it would be premature to speculate on the character of the ruins till a more thorough investigation has been made. If this could be accompanied with some slight excavation, which might be very easily done, as the steep slope leaves no possibility for great accumulation of earth, much would probably be learned about the character of the race which built these walls. I have reason also to believe that in the six or eight miles between Old Smyrna and the ruins on Ada, discoveries may yet be made. Again on the other side of Old Smyrna M. Weber has found, on the hill near Bournabat, an ancient fortification, which can be distinctly traced below the rude walls of a modern *mandra*, or fold; but the description of it I must leave for his forthcoming publication, *Le Sipyles et ses Ruines*. Since all these ruins, close to and within easy reach of Smyrna, have remained almost unknown till lately, there is great hope that a careful examination of Mount Sipylus might show many remains of the Lydian Empire that have escaped the ravages of time and the notice of travellers.

W. M. RAMSAY.

NOTES FROM JOURNEYS IN THE TROAD AND  
LYDIA.

THE Troad has been so thoroughly explored of late years that my only excuse for saying anything about my own travels in it during the autumn of 1879 is partly that they were undertaken in the cause of archaeology, partly that I enjoyed the advantage of having Mr. Frank Calvert as a guide. Mr. Calvert has lived so long in the country, and is so well acquainted with its archaeology, in the interest of which he has excavated on various historic and prehistoric sites, that I could not fail to obtain a better knowledge of the whole district than has hitherto fallen to the lot of most visitors. Dr. Schliemann, moreover, had kindly placed his foreman and servant, Nikóla, at the disposal of myself and my friend, Mr. F. W. Percival, and as Nikóla is a native of Ren Keni, I had additional opportunities of making myself acquainted with Trojan topography.

Since Dr. Schliemann, however, has entered fully into this subject in his work on 'Ilios,' I shall content myself with a few selections from the notes I made during my journey, and draw attention to one or two matters which have not been observed before. But I must first of all confess myself a convert to the theory which identifies the Ilium of Homer with Hissarlik. If Troy ever existed, it could have only been on the site of Hissarlik. There is no other site, at once so ancient, so commanding, and so conveniently near the sea, in the whole of the Troad. Strabo's 'village of the Ilieans,' which I am inclined to place at a spot a little to the south of Chiblak, where there are remains of two Hellenic or Graeco-Roman towns, is of course out of the question. It was too far inland,

and had no early history. As for Bunarbashi, so long the chosen representative of Ilium, I find it difficult to understand how any one acquainted with the archaeology of Greece and Asia could have maintained its claims. The scholars of the last century, believing as they did that the Troy of Homer was like one of the great cities of Europe, naturally fixed upon the heights of Bunarbashi as realising their ideal. Here we have a large-sized hill, or rather the last spur of the range of Ida, which would have embraced within its circumference a city as large as Edinburgh, and needs a long and weary climb to scale its summit. None of the data given in Homer suit it, and the springs in which Le Chevalier saw the twin sources of the Skamander are really more than twenty in number. As the cliff descends sheer into the bed of the Skamander on the south-eastern side, the race of Achilles and Hektor would have been impossible; indeed, the size of Bunarbashi and the impossibility of finding any one spot sufficiently high to overlook the gradual slope of the hill on the western side, are sufficient to show that no legend could have made it a sort of watch-tower from which to survey the surrounding plain. Such places were not the sites of prehistoric cities or fortifications. The latter, as we now know, are always ridiculously small to our eyes, and if they continued their existence into the historical age, became merely the citadels of the towns at their feet. A piece of rising ground, not too high and not too large, protected if possible by a low steep cliff, and provided with a spring of water, was the natural spot on which the early inhabitants of Greece and Asia Minor built their fortified towns. Mykenae, Tiryns, Boeotian Orkhomenos, the Akropolis of Athens or the Trojan Hissarlik, are the natural sites of pre-historic settlements, not a hill like that of Bunarbashi.

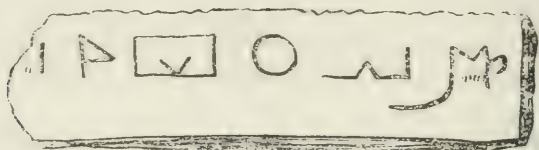
No relics of early date have been found on the latter spot, with the exception of some tumuli built of loose stones on the summit of the hill, which consequently, it may be observed, could not have been included within the precincts of a town. At the south-east corner of the summit, just above the crag which descends abruptly into the Skamander below, are some remains of masonry, among them a fragment of wall which has been called 'Cyclopean.' But it only needs a careful examination to see that every stone in this so-called Cyclopean wall has

been shaped by an iron pick, and can hardly be older than the Macedonian period. Elsewhere the excavations of von Hahn and Schliemann in the scanty soil have brought to light only pottery and other relics of the historic age. The ideas and condition of the early settlers in the Troad were not ours, and the very reasons which make Bunarbashi seem to us so excellent a site for a city prevented them from settling there.

At Hissarlik I discovered that the brick city which has been partially destroyed by fire, and in which Dr. Schliemann found the treasures, had been preceded, not by one city, as had hitherto been supposed, but by two. This discovery was subsequently confirmed by Dr. Schliemann, who had already noticed that the pottery contained in the two strata was entirely different. The first settlers had their entrance on the north-west side, where the original hill sloped gently and immediately faced the sea. The situation was an admirable one for a people who, as we know from their remains, were great consumers of oysters and other sea-fish; it was near enough to the sea for fishing purposes, and yet distant enough to be safe from attacks by pirates, while it stood above the miasmata of the plain. The next-comers made a new entrance by heaping earth against the steep slope of the hill on the south-east side, and so forming a road, at the upper end of which they built a gate. The opposite side of the town, where the entrance of the original inhabitants had been, was made secure by an artificial mound of earth and stone wall.

Opposite Bunarbashi, on the eastern bank of the Skamander, is another Hissarlik or castle-hill. It is a steep and rugged climb to the summit, which is covered with the remains of pre-historic buildings and a circular wall of Cyclopean masonry. Within the latter are a number of ellipses of stone, similar to the basement of the so-called Tomb of Hektor on Bunarbashi. It is difficult to explain their origin. The soil is very scanty, and Mr. Calvert's excavations have resulted in the discovery of only two fragments of rude pre-historic pottery. I found some more potsherds on the spot, coarse and sun-baked. They might belong to any period before the Hellenic. A little above the village of Bunarbashi itself, to the north-west, is a modern square enclosure for cattle. Among the stones of which

this is built is one, first noticed by Admiral Spratt, which has an inscription in very strange characters. Here is a copy of it:—



Dr. Schliemann turns it upside down and reads it as Turkish, but I do not see how he can connect the characters with any form of the Arabic alphabet. The letters, moreover, are incised, not in relief, as is usual with Turkish inscriptions.

Between Bunarbashi and Hissarlik lies Mr. Frank Calvert's farm at Akshi-Keui, just above the springs of the Dudên, which flow into the Skamander, and were, I believe, the springs identified by Strabo, on the authority of Demetrius of Skepsis, with the Homeric sources of the Skamander. At the back of the farmhouse Mr. Calvert has discovered the necropolis of the old Greek town of Thymbra. Much of the pottery found in the tombs is archaic, and of the same character as to material and ornamentation as the Phoeniko-Greek pottery of Thera and Greece, so that we are carried back by it to at least the seventh or eighth century B.C. Among the pottery are some *paterae* of a peculiar shape, on one of which I noticed four characters belonging to the so-called Kypriote syllabary, which I should prefer to call the syllabary of Asia Minor. On opposite sides of the *patera* are the two characters  $\wedge$   $\S$  twice repeated, which may represent the name of the maker or owner. The first has the phonetic value of *re* or *le*; the value of the second is unfortunately doubtful, but may possibly be *ron*; <sup>1</sup> in which case we should have the proper name  $\Lambda\epsilon\phi\omega\nu$ . Alternating with this twice-repeated name are the single characters  $\ast$  and  $\text{||}$ , the first of which is an ornamental variation of the Kypriote *e*, while the second is the Kypriote *ne*. They are plainly used as mere

<sup>1</sup> It occurs as the first character of the name inscribed on the base of a small terra-cotta figure of a woman found by

Major di Cesnola at Salamis, which is read Olimpais, by M. Pierides.

ornaments. The occurrence of these characters is interesting, since Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Hissarlik had already informed us that the so-called Kypriote syllabary was once employed in the Troad, and the *patera* from Thymbra further shows that even after the introduction of the Phœnikian alphabet, and during the earlier Hellenic period, the old characters still lingered on, and might be employed for decorative purposes.<sup>1</sup>

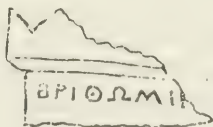
The river Thymbrius flows on the northern side of the rising ground on which Thymbra stood, making its way through thick bushes of *agnus castus* and willow-trees. A mile to the south it joins the Skamander after passing for nearly half a mile through a dreary waste of swamp and sand. Just before this marshy district is reached, at the extremity of the higher ground on the western bank of the Thymbrius, is a remarkable tumulus known as the Khanai-Tepé. This was partially excavated by Mr. Calvert some years ago, and the excavations have been completed during the past winter at Dr. Schliemann's request. The partial excavations, however, made it clear to me that the tumulus was the site of the famous temple of the Thymbraean Apollo. It is the only spot which corresponds with the requirements given by Strabo (13. i. 35), and it corresponds with them exactly. Moreover, there are plain traces of a temple in the upper soil of the mound, a section of which was shown by a shaft driven right through it by Mr. Calvert. Above the native rock came two feet of artificial earth, containing interments, about seven of which had been found, up to the time of my visit. The bones seem to have been deposited in large jars of coarse red clay, and various objects were mixed with them. Among these were flint and obsidian flakes and polished implements of stone, a bone whistle, a bronze pin with a double twisted top, and fragments of black pottery similar to that found in the lower strata of Hissarlik as well as in the prehistoric tumulus on the shore of Besika Bay. The bones of an infant were

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that a fragment of the old language of the country may be preserved in an inscription in Greek letters found by Mr. Frank Calvert in the necropolis of Thymbra and published in Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique* (1847), No. 1743m, which is as follows:—

-- ΛΙΣΘΕΝΕΙΑΙΕΜΜ?ΙΤΟΝΙΚΙΑΙΟΙΤΟΓΑΥΚΙΟ

discovered laid within walls of sun-dried bricks, as well as numerous flakes and implements of a milky flint, nodules of which are met with below the trachyte on the western side of the Thymbrius northward of Akshi-Keui. A layer of charcoal came above this first stratum of earth, on the top of which was another stratum of earth a foot and a half thick, containing fragments of black pottery and flint implements, but no bones. It was evident, therefore, that the mound had been raised for sepulchral purposes by the prehistoric inhabitants of the Troad, and the layer of charcoal may have been a memorial of their funeral feasts. As time went on, however, the tumulus must have become sacred, legends must have grown up about it, and sacrifices been offered upon its summit. At all events the second layer of earth is succeeded by a layer of wood-ashes and calcined stones a foot thick. Over these comes a pavement of sun-dried brick, upon which rests another layer of wood-ashes two feet in depth. Then follow walls of the Hellenic period, among which I distinctly traced the foundations of the *cella* on the north-west side. The walls must be those of the Greek temple built on a site long deemed sacred, where sacrifices had been offered for many generations. The antiquity to which the sacred character of the spot reached back may be judged from the thickness of the two layers of wood-ashes. Their accumulation must have been a slow process.

The only unpublished Greek inscription found at Thymbra is the fragment of a tomb of a late period which contains a curious name, *Βριθωμης* (?).



The tumulus of Agios Demetrios is a natural, not an artificial mound, and derives its name, I believe, from the fact that a temple of Dêmêtêr once stood at the foot of it on the eastern side. The foundations of this temple still remain, and the marble blocks that are strewn around, partly embedded in the soil, seem to indicate that excavations

might bring something of interest to light. An open chapel close by has been partially built out of the ruined fragments of the old temple.

Northward of the tumulus is a large commanding site of rising ground, on the eastern slope of which Hellenic tombs have been discovered. Mr. Frank Calvert suggested to me that this might be the true site of Sigeum, the modern town of Sigeion occupying the site of the ancient Akhilleum. If the modern Sigeion is rightly named, there is certainly no site available for Akhilleum, since the tumulus of Achilles is immediately under the eminence on which Sigeion stands, and there are no potsherds or other remains of an old town in its vicinity. (See, however, Strabo, 13, i. 32, 39.) The tumulus of Akhilles was excavated by a Jew for M. Choiseul-Gouffier in 1786, who professed to find in it some Etruscan pottery, the fragments of an iron sword, and some other remains. There can be no doubt, however, that these objects were all brought from elsewhere, so that a discovery of interest may possibly await a future explorer.

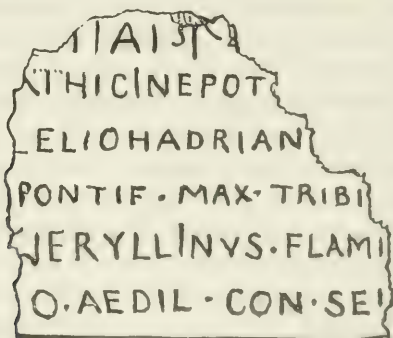
At Gheykli, on the way to Alexandria Troas, I noticed some fragments of marble in the cemetery and in a field to the north of it, as well as at a Turkish fountain, from which we may conclude that a Greek temple once stood in the neighbourhood.

At Alexandria Troas itself three enormous columns, one of which is shattered, still lie on the bank of the pestiferous pond which marks the site of the ancient harbour, and nine companion columns may be seen in the granite quarries near Kochali Ovasi in the very places where they were cut. Seven of these lie together in one place, and the two others a little beyond, a vast heap of stone chippings coming between them. I mention this because the number of columns in each case has been wrongly stated in Murray's *Guidebook*.

The ferruginous hot springs of Ligia, in a valley eastward of the ruins of Alexandria Troas, are still much frequented, and I saw the marble torso of a woman in the bath-house there.

We passed a night at the village of Iki-Stambûl in some buildings that had been erected by an Armenian valona-merchant. While waiting for dinner I noticed a broken block

of marble in the courtyard containing the following inscription, which I cannot find in Mommsen's *Corpus*:<sup>1</sup>—



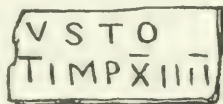
The morning after leaving Iki-Stambûl we passed very pleasantly in exploring the remains of the old Greek city on the summit of the Chigri-Dagh, which Mr. Calvert would identify with Neandria. The remains belong to the early part of the Hellenic period, and the climb up to them over rugged and almost perpendicular rocks is long and fatiguing. But the view alone that is gained from the top would amply repay the visitor for all his pains. In front lies the rich plain above which tower the peaks of Ida, while on the opposite side is the blue sea and the pretty little island of Tenedos. Southward, the view extends over Assos and Lesbos to the mountains of Lydia, while far away in the north-east is the mountain-range that overlooks Kyzikos and the Sea of Marmora. In fact a large part of Mysia is visible from the summit of Chigri. But besides the view, the traveller has also before him some of the most perfect remains of Greek city-walls existing anywhere in the world. The summit of the mountain is divided into two separate peaks, the highest of which served as the Greek citadel, while the town stood on the plateau between them and the sloping ground on the south-east side below. The whole is surrounded by a wall of well-built masonry, in a wonderful

<sup>1</sup> The inscription may be compared with the one on a granite column at Yekli (Gheykli), near Alexandria Troas, given in Le Bas, No. 1732:—

(Im)p. Cae(sar), divi Trai(ani) Parthici (filius), divi Nervae nep(os) Traianu(s) Hadrianus, Aug. pont. max. trib. pot. viii., cos. iii. S iii.

state of preservation, which runs up to the highest part of the citadel. On the south side there are seven walls, rising one above the other, the lowermost of which (more than a mile in length) is pierced by eight gateways, flanked with towers. The lintels of each gate consist of large monoliths, the first I came to measuring more than twelve feet in length, and the blocks of stone with which the way was paved are still in their places. The last gate is at the point where the wall turns round the smaller peak of the hill. The foundations of the old houses may be traced in many places within the walls, and I discovered the remains of a large temple and a single-fluted column between the sixth and seventh walls. On the north side the Hellenic wall, which is here pierced by eleven drains, some of which are quite perfect, is joined by two walls of Pelasgic masonry, which seems to imply that the place had been inhabited before the Greek period. The early date of the Greek settlement, however, is indicated by the polygonal character of the masonry, as well as by the absence of inscriptions or cement, and the rarity of any kind of ornamentation. At the foot of the hill is a fragment of Roman work, and between Chigri and Ineh a broken marble cornice with the word *DIVI* upon it. The so-called Tomb of Aeneas at Ineh is a natural mound, but the name is a curious illustration of a geographical myth.

The only other 'Note' from my journeys in the Troad which I need record concerns a short and mutilated inscription which had been dug up just before I saw it and embedded in the wall of a house that was being built at Kalessi Ovasi, a village not far from the quarries from which the granite columns of Alexandria Troas were brought. The inscription, which originally consisted of two lines only, is as follows:—



I must now pass to Lydia and select a few out of the many notes I made during two excursions through a little-explored country. One of the objects of my expedition was the famous figure of the Pseudo-Sesostris (Herod. ii. 106) in the pass of

Karabel, about three miles from Nimphi. Nimphi itself, with its ruined Roman palace and rock-cut tombs in the cliff above, is twenty miles inland from Smyrna. Texier's drawing of the figure had previously convinced me that we had in it an example of Hittite art, specimens of which are now being brought to England from the Hittite capital of Carchemish (*Jerabîs* or *Jerablus*) on the Euphrates, and that the monument of Karabel as well as the monuments of Eyuk and Boghaz Keui near the Halys bore witness to a Hittite occupation of Asia Minor in the prehistoric age.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this discovery for the history of the early art and culture of Asia Minor and Greece need not be pointed out, and it was therefore desirable to verify it. Now Texier had indicated in his drawing the existence of some curious hieroglyphic characters on the right side of the Pseudo-Sesostris, and the discoveries at Carchemish and elsewhere had made us acquainted with the fact that the Hittites employed a strange system of hieroglyphic writing which is still undeciphered. Texier's copy was not accurate enough to allow us to decide whether or not the hieroglyphics in it were identical with those of Carchemish. The question, however, is now settled. I took two squeezes of the characters at Karabel, as well as careful copies, and the characters turn out to be the same as those that were employed by the Hittites in their distant capital on the Euphrates. We may therefore consider, as Mr. Head remarks, that Sardes was once in Hittite hands, 'and to the governor or satrap of Sardes, the inhabitants of the valleys of the Kaikos, the Hermos, the Kayster, and the Maeander were then, as later, tributary.'<sup>2</sup>

But besides this figure, which has been known since 1839, when it was discovered by Mr. Renouard, I was also privileged to see the second figure described by Herodotus, which had so long been sought in vain. This second figure is on a monolith between the present path and the little Kara Su, or Black Stream, which flows through the pass, and about ten minutes' walk to the left of the other figure. The latter is on the eastern cliff, more than seventy feet above the road, whereas the former is on a level with the western side of the old path.

<sup>1</sup> See my letters in the *Academy*, August 16 and November 1, 1879. ;

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Coinage of Ephesus*, p. 5.

This has long been disused, the present path running a few yards to the westward, and hence the second figure remained so long unnoticed, being buried in shrubs, with its carved face turned away from the modern traveller.<sup>1</sup> Owing to its more accessible position, it has suffered much more severely than its companion sculpture; the breast and head are mutilated, and disfigured by the smoke of a Yuruk's fire, whose tent was pitched against it when it was seen by Mr. Spiegelthal three or four years ago. It is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad in the thickest part. It must have been this second figure that was described in detail by Herodotus, since the inscription upon the other figure is not upon the breast, as stated by the Greek historian, but at the side, while the spear is held in the left hand pointing towards Ephesus. In the case of the newly-found figure, however, the spear points towards Sardes, and is therefore held in the right hand, and as there is no sign of an inscription elsewhere, the characters no doubt ran across the breast. The two figures must have served as sign-posts, besides being visible tokens of Hittite dominion. The pass of Karabel leads from Sardes and Smyrna to Ephesus, and through it, as we see, the high-road ran in ancient times. I detected traces of this high-road close to the second Pseudo-Sesostris, on the western side of the stream, not on the eastern, as stated by Mr. Humann. At the northern entrance of the valley, on the left-hand side, is an artificial tumulus, called by the Turks 'The Treasure-mound;' and a little beyond it, between the mound and the first Pseudo-Sesostris, I observed a large niche in the rock which had been smoothed away as if to receive an inscription. About half a mile beyond the figures, on the right-hand side of the pass, is a double cave, called by the Turks the 'Cave of Treasure.' A stream flows through one of the cavities, into which it passes from the other at a distance of about twenty yards from the entrance,

<sup>1</sup> It was first discovered by Dr. John Beddoe, in company with Count Königsmarck and Dr. Scott of Southampton, in 1856, but as nothing was said about the fact, Mr. Karl Humann, who visited the spot in June, 1875, may claim the merit of first making known the existence of the missing figure. Humann's discovery was pub-

lished by Prof. E. Curtius in the *Arch-äologische Zeitung* for 1875, pp. 50, 51 (where, however, the copy of the figure is not quite correct, and the old road does not run along the east side of the stream, as stated), and by Dr. Hyde Clarke in the *Athenæum* of October 16, 1875, pp. 516, 517.

as was discovered by George Fedros, a Greek of Smyrna, and a companion. Three hours to the east of Nimphi, at the village of Karijalia, Mr. Karl Humann came across rock-tombs and niches cut in the cliff; and above the village of Ekmes, on the side of Mount Sipylus immediately opposite the northern entrance of the Karabel Pass, I noticed a large piece of limestone rock which rises very prominently out of the dark slope of the mountain. Though at midday it seemed to display a flat surface, both in the evening and in the early morning my binocular glass showed that an oblong niche of considerable size, like those in which the Pseudo-Sesostris figures are cut, existed in its centre.

I may add that in going to Nimphi I travelled along what is called the Old Road, which is now but little frequented. On the way we passed the cemetery of Sislar, which is filled with the fragments of marble columns and other indications of a Greek temple that must once have existed there, and a few miles further on I noticed the foundations of another temple. Old mines of silver and antimony exist in the neighbourhood of Nimphi, and Mr. Spiegelthal informs me that he has found Byzantine tombs in the Pass of Karabel.

In riding across the plain from Karabel to Cassaba, we passed a tumulus on the left bank of the Nif-chai, five minutes beyond the ruins of a Roman bridge, and shortly before reaching Cassaba two tumuli on the right.

Sardes I explored thoroughly, and satisfied myself that the remains of the old Lydian city still lie under the ground, though at a depth of more than forty feet, both above and below the temple of Kybelê. A little above the temple a Roman sarcophagus has lately been brought to light, and a little above that again I noticed an unexplored tumulus which probably goes back to pre-Hellenic times. In a field to the east of the ancient city M. Mühlhausen discovered two years ago a chambered tomb containing gold ornaments and other objects. I was shown at Smyrna a small piece of an archaic gold ornament which was said to have come from it, but everything else seems to have disappeared. At all events, I could hear nothing about the remains. Nothing is left of the acropolis of Sardes except a mere shell, the top of which is as narrow as the edge of a razor, the loose sandstone of which the hill was composed

having been washed down into the bed of the Paktôlos below.<sup>1</sup> I realised, however, the character of inaccessibility ascribed to the place in ancient times, as I had to climb up the steep and rugged side of the cliff, with the sun on my back and the thermometer at 101° in the shade. I carefully examined the fragment of mediæval wall that adorns the crest of the hill, both inside and out, but though I copied every line of inscription that has been built into them, I could find none that has been overlooked in Le Bas. On the eastern slope of the hill I detected traces of an ancient wall which ran sheer down it, as well as the foundations of a circular building.

After visiting the tumulus of Alyattes and the other tumuli which stand on the same plateau, we explored the Gygaean Lake. The lake was very low, owing to the long drought of six months that had preceded my visit, and I was thus enabled to observe, as Mr. Spiegelthal had observed before me, the remains of lacustrine dwellings in two places. The foundations of the old temple of Artemis (?) are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causey thrown out into the lake. A Greek gentleman, M. Naoumi, who farms the fishing along with a Turkish partner for 4800 Turkish pounds a year, has lately had some boats brought to the lake. These are manned by fair-skinned Slavs from Southern Russia, settled here in the time of Catherine, who still preserve their features, complexion, and language. Three of these gave me and my friend a pleasant row over the lake. The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous.

On our way from the Gygaean Lake to Urghanlu we were entertained by a Turkish gentleman, Achmet Bey, whose *chiftlik* or farm is not far from Achmetlü. He showed me a marble lion's head built into the wall of one of his farm-buildings, which he said had come from Sardes. As the style


<sup>1</sup> The path by which the Median soldier found his way into the acropolis must have been formed by one of these landslips, and was consequently unknown to the garrison. The legend,

according to which the vulnerable point was caused by the lion carried round the citadel by Meles not passing over it, is plainly to be explained in the same way, (Hdt. i. 84).

of it is archaic, it might easily have been of the age of Kroesus. The art is of the same character as that of the archaic statues found by Prof. Newton at Brankhidæ. At Urghanlu, where we spent a night, I saw what looked like a tumulus surrounded by a wall on the other side of the plain of the Hermus, and on the very summit of the Tmôlus range. I was told by the natives that it was 'an old castle,' called the 'Castle of Mosquitoes,' Sevrîjeh-Hissar. I may here note that the Turkish head of the police at Philadelphia averred that when hunting brigands in a desolate part of Mount Tmôlus he had come across a monument of large size covered all over with strange characters. When I mentioned this afterwards to Mr. Spiegelthal, he told me that he had himself once discovered the same monument, which was inscribed with Persian cuneiform characters, and had probably been erected by Darius. It is a pity that we have no copy of the inscription.

The road from Cassaba to Magnesia ad Sipylum winds round the north-eastern shoulder of Sipylus, and here I was informed that 'old stones' with letters on them existed in the village of Koralina, about a mile and a half to the left of the path. Owing to the time the soldiers who were with me had wasted on the way I was unfortunately unable to turn aside and discover whether or not the letters were Greek. At this spot four tumuli and the remains of a fifth exist by the side of the road.

We spent a long afternoon before the famous figure of Niobê, which does not seem to have been properly examined previously. At all events I discovered one or two facts which had not been noticed by earlier visitors. First of all I found traces of the feet of the figure, or rather of shoes with turned-up ends, rudely delineated on the surface of the stone and turned inwards. Secondly I found that the head of the figure is surmounted by a small circle, by way of ornament, which is carved out of the rock at the back. Thirdly, I noticed that the hair of the figure is represented very curiously by flutings. I am inclined to think that the image was originally intended to denote the goddess Kybelê, though I cannot explain why it is made to face the north-west, and the disfigurement of the face by decomposed particles of lime which trickle over it in wet weather renders it difficult to say whether it was intended to be male or female. Mr. Dennis, indeed, thought that the calcareous

accumulation below the chin is not wholly due to the decomposition of the stone, but covers the representation of a beard. At any rate the original features of the image had disappeared, and the decomposition of the stone had produced the semblance of tears, before the Greeks had settled in Smyrna and attached to it the myth of the weeping Niobê. 'The couches of the nymphs' mentioned by Homer in connection with the statue (*Il.* xxiv. 615, 616) must be the numerous rock-tombs cut in the cliff in the neighbourhood of the sculpture, which have the shape of a bed, . At the foot of the cliff is a stream, fed by several springs, some of which are warm and aperient, and just below the figure is a small pool, filled with tortoises, and called by the Greeks 'the Tears of Niobê.' This pool is all that is left of an extensive lake, drained some thirty years ago, which seems to have represented the lake under which the town of Sipylus was buried after the earthquake in the time of Tiberius. The columns of a temple found when the lake was drained now serve to support the embankment of a stream which a market-gardener had diverted from the main channel.

The figure of Niobê, as is well known, is represented in a sitting posture, with the hands pressed against the breast, like the rude figure of the goddess Artemis Nanaea, which was carried in prehistoric times from Babylonia to Asia Minor, the Aegean Islands, and Greece. In front of the figure is a pit-tomb filled with small loose stones. The style of art is thoroughly barbaric, and transports us to a period earlier than that of Hittite influence. It reminds me strongly of that of the curious figure cut out of the rock at Bujah near Smyrna, which was discovered by Mr. Spiegelthal, and sent to the British Museum by Mr. Dennis. But I was further strongly reminded of the sitting Egyptian statues in niches cut out of the rock on either side of the Nile, more particularly of that of Nofre-tari, the wife of Ramses II., at Abu-Simbel. Indeed it is difficult to avoid believing that the Niobê is really a barbarous imitation of one of those Egyptian sculptures, so great is the general resemblance between them.

After visiting the Niobê we dined at Magnesia, and there heard from a boy who waited on us of another figure carved on a rock in a niche similar to that in which the Niobê stands, and

at the distance of about half a mile to the east of the latter. Accordingly I started next morning for the spot, taking the boy with me as a guide. Unfortunately he lost his way among the rocks and brambles of the mountain, and after clambering about the cliff for several hours under a burning sun, I was obliged to return to Magnesia without having seen what I was in search of. My guide described it as a well-executed figure resembling a sheep, with the head, neck, ears, tail and wool quite perfect, but the legs so far injured as to make it difficult to say whether they were two or four. The head points east, the tail west. I found by cross-examination that whatever else the animal was intended to be, it was certainly not a lion. While hunting for it, however, I discovered the representation of a large phallus on a smooth wall of rock, with two small niches of triangular shape carved on either side of it, and two pit-tombs in front, similar to that in front of the Niobê. It stands about a mile to the east of the latter, near the top of the mountain, and in a straight line from a ruined mill. If the boy's recollection was trustworthy, the figure of the animal is between the Niobê and the Phallus. The latter, it is plain, must once have been an object of pilgrimage, like a similar object I once visited in the Basque Pyrenees, near the village of Bidarray, hence called 'the Saint of Bidarray' and still visited by the Basque women far and near in the hope of getting offspring, which is on the inner wall of a small grotto on the top of a hill, and, like its double on Sipylus, is really a stalagmitic formation. While searching for the figure of the animal I also noticed what looked like a quadrangular block of white marble hidden among the bushes upon the very brow of the cliff, about half a mile westward of the phallus. I examined it carefully through my binocular glass, and regret very much that I did not force my way to it, since I afterwards fancied that it might be the 'throne of Pelops,' placed by Pausanias in this locality. (Paus. 5, 13, 4.) At the time, however, I had forgotten the passage of Pausanias; and the great heat, the difficulty of climbing up a cliff with loose stones under the feet, and nothing to cling to except prickly shrubs, together with the existence of a deep ravine between myself and the block of marble, must be my excuse for not having actually visited it.

A little to the east of the phallus, in a depression on the summit of the mountain, I discovered three natural pyramids of stone, and close to them two chambered rock-tombs similar to the well-known one at the foot of Sipylus, besides a cistern hewn out of the rock. Other rock-tombs on the face of the mountain, as well as stone implements found in the neighbourhood, some of which I brought home with me, show pretty plainly the prehistoric antiquity of these monuments. Mr. Spiegelthal has heard from some Yuruks of a monument exactly like that of the Niobê existing in the western part of Sipylus near old Smyrna (Texier's Tantalus), about an hour and a half distant from Smyrna. If it were not for the brigands, many more monuments of the same kind might doubtless be discovered.

On the way from Smyrna to Ephesus I came across the remains of a Greek temple which has not been noticed before. Opposite Kosbunar, and on the hill top above the village of Belevi (not Beledi, as in Kiepert's map), I noticed an artificial tumulus surrounded by a wall of Cyclopean masonry. Descending the hill by its northern slope we come to the ruins of a mediæval fortress, and a little behind this stood the temple. The city to which it belonged must, I believe, have been the Larissa of Strabo (9. v. 19., 13. iii. 2.), though, if so, the distances given by the Greek geographer are, as usual, wrong. Southward of Ephesus, again, and opposite Azizieh is another tumulus surrounded with a wall, first noticed by Dr. Hyde Clarke. This, however, seemed to me to be of natural origin, though the wall, which is built of small stones, is unquestionably ancient. After visiting Magnesia ad Maeandrum, we climbed up the Gumush Dagh, or Silver Mountains, partly for the sake of the view, partly because I fancied from the Turkish name of the hills that some old silver mines existed in them. One of these I certainly discovered just above the village of Gumush, with its entrance now obstructed by a large fig-tree, and I fancied I saw another from the height on which we stood. The view we enjoyed was superb; below lay the plain of the Maeander and the ruins of Magnesia, Priênê, and Miletus; in front rose the five peaks of Latmos, and behind them the snow-clad summits that look down on Halikarnassos, while the range on which we stood ended in the promontory of Mykale, shut in by the blue sea and the distant shore of Patmos.



but among them must be several of interest, on account either of the names they contain, or the facts they record, or the forms of the characters in which they are written. It is possible that the autograph of Herodotus himself may yet turn up among them, since it is impossible to suppose that he could have travelled in Egypt without indulging in the favourite custom of his age and countrymen. No doubt many of the monuments he visited, such as those of Sais and Memphis, have now perished or disappeared, but there are others still existing which were probably seen by him.

A. H. SAYCE.

P.S.—The thorough excavation of the Khanai Tepé last winter, at Dr. Schliemann's expense, has shown that some of the conclusions I drew from the partial exploration of it must be corrected. The mound was first inhabited by settlers who built their huts upon it and buried their dead in it; then a fortress was built upon the ruins of the town; this in turn was burnt, and altars were constructed and temple-walls built around what had now become a lofty tumulus. The successive levels at which the different altar-bases were found show the length of time during which it was a sacred spot. Finally, the mound became part of the necropolis of the historical Thymbra, to which the temple of Apollo had been transferred. The layer of charcoal turns out to be the result of the destruction of the fortress by fire. A detailed account of the excavations is about to be published by Mr. Frank Calvert in an Appendix to Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*,

## STEPHANI ON THE TOMBS AT MYCENAE.

IN the *Compte rendu* of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission for 1877, which has just made its appearance, Dr. Stephani, one of the most learned and experienced of archaeologists, has boldly attacked the antiquity of the graves discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae. The circumstances of that discovery will be fresh in the memory of our readers. As soon as English archaeologists had an opportunity of examining the various objects discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the graves, they at once gave their verdict, all but unanimously,<sup>1</sup> that what was found belonged to the pre-historic times of Greece. And in this country it is now commonly assumed that the antiquities of Mycenae must form the subject of the first chapter of any account of Greek artistic production. But the reputation of Dr. Stephani is deservedly so great that his entry into the controversy compels us to a reconsideration of the whole problem, and a careful examination of the new light which he has to offer.

This task I have undertaken, not without reluctance. And whatever may be my inferiority to M. Stephani in the matter of learning and experience, I have over him the great advantage that whereas he judges of the Mycenaean treasures from engravings and photographs, I have seen them not once, but many times, have examined them with utmost care, and have for years been seeking in all quarters for anything to throw light on their date and origin. And, moreover, as the treasures of Mycenae

<sup>1</sup> See *Edinburgh Review*, 1878 (Mr. Newton); *Quarterly Review*, 1878; *Contemporary Review*, 1878 (Mr. Poole); *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, March 22, 1877 (Mr. John Evans); May 17, 1877 (Mr. Newton and Mr. Watkiss Lloyd). An important exception to this unanimity is Mr. A. S. Murray (*Nineteenth Century*, 1879).

stand quite apart from all other remains of antiquity, all archaeologists in approaching them are, except as regards scientific habits of mind, somewhat on a level; no one can claim them as especially belonging to his province of study. We must borrow light whence we can, from prehistoric archaeology no less than from that which concerns itself with Egypt or with Greece.

I must first deal with the destructive part of M. Stephani's essay, that part of it in which he tries to show that the treasures of Mycenae cannot belong to the pre-historic ages of Greece. Afterwards I shall have something to say about the positive part of his polemic, in which he tries to show to what period they really do belong. I may at once say that he gives them in the main to the third century after the Christian era, but considers that many objects of earlier date are intermingled.

Now it appears to me that the whole polemic of M. Stephani is led astray by two false ideas, idols, as Bacon would term them, which take their rise in the circumstances of his position. Of these ideas the first is that the treasures from the graves at Mycenae belong to various periods of time, and are dissimilar, one from the other, in character. Now this is a notion which might easily arise from going over the photographs and engravings of Dr. Schliemann, but would surely have been dispersed by a careful examination of the objects themselves. After examining boxful after boxful of the treasures at Athens, the feeling in the mind grew ever stronger and stronger: 'these things are strange, new, almost inexplicable, but they certainly belong to one race and one period.' Between objects which at first sight seemed dissimilar a closer examination discovered curious points of resemblance, some trick of style, or some peculiarity of treatment which bound them together and indicated a common origin. I speak of course of the things found *in* the graves, not of those found in the earth above. This object reminded one at the first glance of India, this of Greece, that of Celtic antiquities, and yet on more careful consideration the likeness was seen to be but superficial. After all, these antiquities were more like one another than any of them was like the works of India or Gaul. They formed a class quite apart, and mirrored a certain phase and degree of civilisation, of which the student even began, after severally examining these objects, to form some elementary notion.

Now it seems to me that this difference between first and second impressions is exactly what must occur in coming upon the works of a new phase of art. Suppose that to an archaeologist who had never seen any of the antiquities of Mexico, a parcel of the pottery and other relics of the ancient people of Mexico were brought for judgment. He would at once say, this object reminds me of early Greek work, that of Celtic, the other is purely barbarous. But he would arrive after sufficient study at the opinion that all belonged to one nation, with whose workmanship he was quite unacquainted. He would find radical resemblances running throughout, and even be able through induction to judge in a certain measure of the degree of Mexican civilisation.

I think, then, that in treating the antiquities from the graves at Mycenae as objects dating from various periods and different countries, M. Stephani does them great injustice. No doubt some of them are in design and execution very superior to others. And sometimes the influence of Egypt is more apparent, sometimes that of the civilisations of Asia Minor, sometimes the style is purely local. Nevertheless all belong, with the exception of a few imported objects,<sup>1</sup> to one age and one race. Thus among all the vessels made of metal, although the shape of some seems to us far more civilised than that of others, there is none which witnesses to any mode of fabrication other than that by the hammer. It would appear that none are soldered ;<sup>2</sup> all are formed of plates of metal beaten into shape and nailed together at the edges. And the gold ornaments, though the designs on them are of the most various merit, are so like in fabric that they evidently came from one set of workshops.

The other notion which appears to me to mislead M. Stephani is his fixed idea that if the treasures belonged to the prehistoric ages of Greece, they would of necessity present the characteristics of archaic Greek art. Repeatedly and constantly he returns

<sup>1</sup> No doubt the Egyptian porcelain was imported, and the ostrich-shell found in one grave. See Appendix to the German edition of Schliemann's *Mycenae*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Schliemann does in some cases speak of soldering, as at p. 236. But

this appears to be a misuse of the term ; he informs me in a letter that he did not find in the case of any vase an instance of the process. At the same time I should not regard the occasional use of the soldering process as proof of late date.

to this point. Again and again he observes of this or that object that there is nothing like it among early Greek works. And he points continually to the fact that the art of Mycenae is rather like an art of decline than an art of growth.

We may at once confess that the points of contact between the art of Mycenae and Hellenic art, whether in the archaic or any other period, are but few. And we do not hesitate to add that in the treatment of the human figure, at all events, the workmen of Mycenae do seem to be feebly imitating a better art than their own. In fact there is at Mycenae a great deal of what is familiar to all archaeologists as barbarous imitation. But does it follow that the superior art which set the model in this case was Greek? As early as the tenth and twelfth centuries before our era there were in Egypt and Western Asia schools of art which had reached a high point of perfection. And it was natural that Phrygians, Lydians, Greeks, and other semi-barbarians on the borders of the great empires of the old world should copy their works of art. And that unlikeness to Greek work which is so noteworthy in the treasures of Mycenae is the best of all proofs that the art which was the mistress and teacher of the craftsmen of Mycenae was not Greek at all, but Oriental. What we call archaic Greek art can scarcely be shown to have come into existence at all before the seventh century B.C., and even then existed only in very rudimentary form. How then can we expect to find anything like it four or five centuries earlier? If we maintained that the graves at Mycenae were filled in the seventh or eighth century before our era, then indeed it would be reasonable to search in them for works of nascent Greek art, such as are yielded by Ialysus or Camirus. But putting them as we do three or four centuries earlier, we take them entirely out of the field of Greek antiquity and relegate them to that of Egyptian, Oriental, and Prehistoric archaeology; and an archaeologist who has spent his life in the study of the remains of peoples who inherited Greek civilisation, is really especially liable to error on this point. Much learning may merely mislead him, and put him beside himself.

But I must not be understood to assert that there are *no* points of resemblance between the treasures of Mycenae and works found in places usually regarded as the cradles of Greek

art. The Archaeological Society of Athens expressly claims certain points of likeness between the productions of Mycenae and those found in a grave at Spata,<sup>1</sup> in Attica, the antiquity of which M. Stephani would, I imagine, not deny. And in a most instructive speech delivered before the Society of Antiquaries,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Newton directs attention to several points of likeness, if not between the work of Mycenae and that of Greece, at least between the work of Mycenae and that of Cyprus, Melos, and other places where Greek art was to arise. In the shape of the Mycenaean vases as well as in the style of their decoration Mr. Newton finds many points of likeness to the unquestionably early vases which come from Ialysus, in Rhodes. He also brings forward the important fact that some of the very archaic lentoid gems which come from the Greek islands were found in the tombs of Mycenae. 'In the tombs of the Akropolis at Mycenae were found four of these rude gems, and the tombs at Ialysos yielded five of the same class.' No one, so far as I know, has denied the justice of these observations. Recently Messrs. Furtwängler and Löschke have reproduced<sup>3</sup> the fragments of pottery found in the graves at Mycenae, and whoever will compare them with the early pottery of Camirus and Melos,<sup>4</sup> will not fail to find points of resemblance. It is of course open to M. Stephani to say that objects of great antiquity might possibly be found in tombs of the third century A.D., but he would scarcely be able to produce satisfactory parallels. Moreover the golden cups, between which and the pottery of Ialysus Mr. Newton finds points of likeness, are just the objects as to the late date of which M. Stephani is most confident.

The criticism of the individual points raised by M. Stephani will not be here attempted at length, partly because several replies to his strictures have already appeared,<sup>5</sup> partly because the discussion must descend to small detail and be almost unintelligible except to those who follow it with the help of several large works. A few points only will be mentioned.

Certainly the Russian archaeologist could scarcely have started with a feebler argument than that derived from the presence of golden butterflies at Mycenae. Pointing out that the butterfly

<sup>1</sup> See the *Ἀθήναιον*, vol. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, May, 17, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> *Mykenische Thongefässe*.

<sup>4</sup> Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*.

<sup>5</sup> By Prof. Sayce, in the *St. Petersburg Herald*, June 23, 1880, &c.

does not appear in Greek art until the second century B.C., M. Stephani at once leaps to the conclusion that those of Mycenae must belong to an age not earlier than that. After making this remarkable induction, M. Stephani does indeed mention the supposed fact that the butterfly is also absent in Egyptian and Oriental art. But this is not so. It has already been pointed out<sup>1</sup> that there is in the British Museum an Egyptian wall painting of the period of the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty (not later than B.C. 1450), in which butterflies are portrayed to the life. By a mere chance this particular painting has come down to us. But what do we know of the art of Asia Minor of that period, of the sculpture and painting of the Hittites, the Lydians, the Phrygians? Only the merest wrecks of the artistic productions of these peoples remain; and to assert that they did not represent the butterfly is to make a great assumption. Butterflies at all events then existed. And if these insects may have occurred in the art of prehistoric Asia Minor, why not in that of prehistoric Greece, which seems to have been nearly connected with it?

And this butterfly argument which seems scarcely worth breaking on the wheel of inquiry is yet one that M. Stephani specially relies on. And there are others like it. He singles out of the Mycenaean treasures certain objects which he considers to belong to the prime, and others which seem to him to testify of the decline of Greek art. In the former class he places a silver oenochoe,<sup>2</sup> the noted bull's head,<sup>3</sup> a vase with plant-like pattern,<sup>4</sup> and the golden handle of a sword.<sup>5</sup> But the oenochoe is of just the same fabric as all the other vases of Mycenae, and its shape, though elegant, is in no way inconsistent with an early origin. It has no tell-tale ornamentation to testify to its date. The bull's head differs in many respects from the products of Greek art, and on the other hand very nearly resembles the golden vase-covers in the shape of the heads of animals which the Egyptians received as tribute from the peoples of Asia Minor.<sup>6</sup> Drs. Furtwängler and Löschke in publishing the piece of pottery adorned with a plant, do not seem to have

<sup>1</sup> *Academy*, July 3, by Mr. Murray.

<sup>4</sup> Page 160.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved at p. 243 of the English edition of Schliemann.

<sup>5</sup> Page 307.

<sup>3</sup> Page 217.

<sup>6</sup> See *Contemporary Review*, xxxi. pp. 346-59.

been shaken by its superficial likeness to Apulian pottery. The ornament of the sword-handle consists of spirals, and closely resembles that of all the other objects in gold found in the graves. It does not seem to have struck M. Stephani as remarkable that the sword to which this handle belonged was of bronze, and of quite a different form and size from Greek swords. Yet surely if the sword itself is non-Hellenic, the handle will scarcely be Hellenic.

Yet these are the things of most Hellenic aspect which can be selected from among the thousands of objects from Mycenae. Turning over the pages of Dr. Schlieman's book, from first to last one does not find a single object of which one can unhesitatingly say that it is of Greek origin. And yet Greek work is of so distinctive a character that any competent observer can detect it at a glance. After turning the pages of Schliemann let any man turn the pages of some work full of the products of Greek art, say the Russian *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, in which are represented the treasures found in the tombs of the half Hellenised Scythians, who dwelt near the Greek cities of the Crimea. These remains are not purely Greek, and yet I have found by experiment that of all the numerous plates of the vast work there is hardly one which does not contain some article the Greek origin of which we could unhesitatingly and instantly assert.

Of the antiquities for which M. Stephani claims a date in the period of late decline of Greek art, we need speak of but two sets; the masks which were on the faces of the dead, and the rings.

Now the custom of placing masks on the faces of deceased heroes is one which seems never to have prevailed anywhere except sporadically, and as an exception, but the majority of instances known to us date from late Roman times.<sup>1</sup> M. Stephani makes much of the fact that two gold masks found in the tombs of South Russia on the faces of dead persons dated from a period not earlier than the third century A.D. He concludes that the date of the Mycenaean masks must be the same. It appears to me that this argument is almost without force. Of course the moment it was known that gold masks had been

<sup>1</sup> See Benndorf, *Gesichtshelme und Sepulchralmasken*.

found in the graves at Mycenae every one thought of the Russian masks at once. I myself spoke of these latter in a letter to the *Academy* of 28th April, 1877, and before I went to Mycenae made a careful study of the antiquities of South Russia, in the idea that it might be possible to find something like them at Mycenae, an idea which an hour's handling of the Mycenaean treasures utterly dispelled. But M. Stephani is misled by those who inform him that there is any likeness of style between the Russian masks and Dr. Schliemann's. The former may be judged from the admirable coloured prints in the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, and M. Ouvaroff's work on South Russian Antiquities. Their style is that of the age of Diocletian and Constantine. The barbarous Mycenaean masks are of an utterly different character. In them the eyes are represented as at once open and shut, the noses are mere square ridges, the mouths are huge slits. The Egyptians at quite an early period gilt the faces of their mummies, and the step between this and putting gold masks on the faces of corpses appears to me a very short one.<sup>1</sup> Nor can we have proof that the races of Asia Minor did not in the twelfth century B.C. thus treat their kings until we find in Asia Minor a number of rich and inviolate tombs of the period which present no trace of such a custom.

In the same way the evidence for the late date of the rings of Mycenae utterly breaks down. How can it be said that their style is Sassanian, when every one who is at all used to Sassanian gems and reliefs must see the difference? Nevertheless I do not go with Prof. Sayce in finding close resemblance between the devices of these rings and those of early Babylonian cylinders. In some details there is a resemblance, but the differences are also striking. On the cylinders female figures seldom appear, never, I believe alone, but in the most curious of the rings there is a group of none but female figures. The dresses of these figures, which seem to consist of a series of flounces, are of Babylonian type, but there the resemblance ceases. In fact the rings are quite *sui generis*, which is only another way of saying that the links which must at one time have existed connecting them with the artistic activity of some

<sup>1</sup> Professor Sayce says that a gold mask now in the Louvre was actually found on the face of an Egyptian king

of the eighteenth dynasty, *Academy*, July 17.

people of the Levant have perished. And is this wonderful if they are really early? What did we know of Assyrian art fifty years ago? What of Cyprian art twenty years ago? Troy, Mycenae, Spata, have each lifted a curtain and displayed to us a new phase of semi-civilised work which seems to stand by itself. We need a hundred more such glimpses before we are able fairly to trace the history of art in Asia Minor and the Levant during the obscure centuries which preceded the rise of the Lydian kingdom and the spread of the Greek colonies.

But it is time to examine the theory which M. Stephani himself brings forward as to the date and origin of the Mycenaean treasures. He reminds us that twice the Peloponnese, and especially the district about Corinth and Argos, was laid waste by the Goths. In A.D. 267 some Heruli sailed thither straight from the sea of Azov,<sup>1</sup> and after mastering most of Peloponnese were set upon by the Athenians, under Dexippus, and destroyed. In 395 Alaric<sup>2</sup> with his bands wandered for six months through the same district, capturing Corinth and Argos. M. Stephani thinks that on some occasion one or other of these swarms of barbarians, having lost some of their leaders in battle, buried them at Mycenae with their families, and heaped into the graves not only the works of the Gothic smiths, but also the spoils of the conquered cities. He suggests that as part of the troops of Alaric were Christian, and no Christian emblems are found at Mycenae, it is more probable that the graves belong to the nation of the Heruli. He thinks that these may, during their stay in South Russia, have learned some of the burial customs there prevailing, such as that of covering the face of the deceased with a mask of gold, and his person with gold ornaments.

Now without taking up the historical difficulties which inhere in this theory, or displaying the weakness of the analogies on which alone it is based, I will mention but four objections to it, of which each one taken by itself appears to me of far more weight than the whole mass of objections brought against the extreme antiquity of the Mycenaean treasures.

In the first place then, how is it, if, as M. Stephani maintains, the graves at Mycenae were partly filled with the spoils of Greece,

<sup>1</sup> Syncellus, *Chronogr.* p. 382 C, ed. Par. Trebellius Pollio, *Gallienus*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus *Hist.* v. 6, 8.

there was not found in them one single article of which the Hellenic origin was clear and unmistakeable? What Greece was in the third century A.D. we know very well from the descriptions of Pausanias, who travelled there about a century earlier. Every city and every temple was a perfect storehouse of works of art, dating from all the periods of Greek culture, archaic, fine, and late, and in all materials. How is it there is no figure whatever of Greek god or Greek man, no figure even of an animal fashioned by Greek hands, not even a pattern of undeniable Greek design? In the finds of treasures which belong to the time of the barbarian inroads such indications are, I believe, never wanting. Even in Russia and Germany when Gothic and Hunnic chiefs were buried, in their graves was placed something telling of Greek and Roman art and civilisation. In the grave at Novotscherkask, on the sea of Azov, the contents of which M. Stephani compares with those of the graves of Mycenae, there was found a golden Eros and a bust of the City of Chalcedon, as well as a gold vessel with the artist's name in Greek characters. It is inconceivable that a barbarous band spoiling Peloponnese and heaping the spoils into their tombs, should have contrived to avoid all objects of Hellenic character. If it were granted that they would melt down and re-fashion the objects of precious metal, yet they would scarcely throw away gems and ivory and amber carved with Greek design, and scarcely deem them unworthy of a place in the tomb.

In the second place, the metal-work and other work of Mycenae is not only not Greek, but it is as unquestionably not Gothic. What Gothic work is like we know very well from the testimony of a hundred museums and a thousand tombs. Take once more the treasures found at Novotscherkask. These are described and engraved by Linas.<sup>1</sup> The most striking characteristic of their style is that almost every object is made up of gems set in gold. The figures of stags, of goats, of hares, and other creatures which there abound, are cut out with sharp edges, and the interior is diversified with stones of various colours let in, and with enlaced designs such as one finds in early Saxon and Merovingian work. All this is quite in the style of the barbarian conquerors of Rome, but where at Mycenae is anything

<sup>1</sup> *Les origines de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée*, II. pp. 135, seqq.

of the sort? I only find in Dr. Schliemann's engravings a single specimen of the in-letting of precious stones. This is the remarkable handle of a sceptre formed of gold and rock-crystal,<sup>1</sup> which stands quite by itself, but the appearance of which reminds us of the east, not of the north.

Thirdly, it is quite notorious that the barbarous invaders of the Roman Empire were acquainted with the working of iron, and in particular made their swords of it. In fact after the Christian era, none of the military nations of Europe used any other metal for swords.<sup>2</sup> And the Greeks, as is well known, imported much of their iron from the Euxine Sea. Aeschylus speaks of *Σκύθης σίδηρος* in the fifth century B.C., and it is utterly impossible that a people coming from Scythia seven hundred years later should bring bronze swords. But all the swords found in the Mycenaean graves are of bronze, nor was there discovered in any of those graves the least trace of any object made of iron. I attach the greatest importance to this fact. Even in Homer's days iron was coming in as a material for weapons, swords in particular; and its superiority, when well tempered, over other metals in edge and temper, must have made it rapidly supersede bronze. The Greeks of historical times used bronze for knives and arrow-heads, but either never or very seldom for swords. The Goths would certainly not use bronze swords. What is the testimony of M. Stephani's South Russian graves? At Koul Oba, amid relics of the third century of our era, one sword was found, of iron, as well as iron darts, and arrow-heads of bronze.<sup>3</sup> In another tomb, dating from the fourth century B.C., M. Aschik found an iron sword.<sup>4</sup> In a third tomb it is recorded that a short iron sword was found.<sup>5</sup> I observe no instance in which a tomb of the Greek period yielded a bronze sword, though of course I am not in a position to say that M. Stephani cannot produce an instance. I may add that in the fourth grave Dr. Schliemann found a number of arrow-heads of obsidian, chipped with great labour and skill, and of a type, as Mr. Franks informs me, of which the antiquity is very great indeed. Already in Homer's

<sup>1</sup> Engraved at p. 287.

p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 7—12.

<sup>4</sup> Page 69.

<sup>5</sup> Page 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiq. du Bosphore Cim.*, Introd.

time the Greeks used none but bronze arrow-heads, and the Germans and Goths of the third century after our era used bronze or iron arrow-heads. The art of making such arrow-heads as those of Mycenae was lost in Greece and the rest of Europe in pre-historic times.

In the fourth place, there is in the tombs at Mycenae a total absence of coins and of inscriptions. The two great inventions of writing and of striking coin made their way into general use in Greece probably about the same time, in the seventh and sixth centuries before our era. And although a rich grave belonging to a subsequent time may sometimes be found without either writing or coin, yet it is very unusual to find a series of graves yielding rich spoils and yet with no trace of either. Considering the richness and variety of the treasures of Mycenae, one may say that the total absence of inscriptions and coins would be, if they were more recent than the sixth century B.C., without precedent and morally impossible. We are therefore compelled to place them above that epoch.

To sum up: M. Stephani maintains that the treasures of Mycenae were buried by the Heruli about A.D. 267, and that they consist partly of the spoils of Greece, and partly of the work of Gothic hands. In reply, I have shown that there is nothing which unmistakeably indicates a Greek source, and that there is nothing which testifies to Gothic handiwork. Among the spoils of Greece there must needs have been coins, inscriptions, figures of deities, or some such objects as are yielded by Greek tombs. Among Gothic works we must have found inlaid jewels and the well-known national patterns. The swords of Goths would have been of iron, not of bronze, and their arrow-heads of iron or bronze, not of obsidian.

Much more might be said, but the case against M. Stephani seems to me quite strong enough already. It is a wonder that such a theory as his can be supported by so experienced an archaeologist. No doubt there is a certain analogy between the Crimean graves about which he knows so much and those of Mycenae. Both sets of graves contain a great deal of the precious metal, with which the faces and the dresses of the dead are covered. But there the likeness stops. This profuse dedication of gold to the dead seems to be a sort of vulgarity of wealth which has recurred at various periods of the world's history among

the barbarians on the borders of civilisation. The Tartar hordes of the middle ages wrapped their dead in sheets of gold, the Scythic princes of the Crimea smothered their heroes with ornament.<sup>1</sup> The Etruscans were scarcely less profuse. So the people of Greece and Asia Minor, when they were barbarians on the confines of Lydian and Egyptian kingdoms, acquired more gold than the living needed, and bestowed it on the dead. All this proves nothing about race or period. Some of the tombs of the Crimea, that opened at Koul Oba for instance, are, as M. Stephani explicitly states, in design and construction almost exactly like the ancient building called the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. M. Stephani would not venture to complete his theory by supposing that the Heruli erected this Treasury also.

We naturally revert to the theory which has been put forward by many archaeologists both in England and the Continent, each introducing slight variations, but the general outlines remaining the same. It would appear that the graves of Mycenae belonged to a wealthy race who ruled in that city at a period not later than a thousand years before our era. The treasures themselves betray a close connection with Asia Minor, and at least occasional intercourse with Egypt. Therefore we gladly accept the aid of the Greek tradition which tells of wealthy Phrygian kings in Peloponnese in pre-historic times. And though we must not be betrayed into the error of treating Homer as a historian, we gladly allow that Homer rested on a historical tradition when he made Argolis the seat of the mightiest of Greek kingdoms, and applied to its chief city that most felicitous phrase *πολύχρυσος Μυκῆνη*.

PERCY GARDNER.

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. du Bosphore C'im.*, Introd., p. 39.

## ON REPRESENTATIONS OF CENTAURS IN GREEK VASE-PAINTING.

BEFORE coming to the discussion of the three unpublished vase-paintings which illustrate this article, and of the questions which they suggest (Plates I., II., III.), it will be proper to give some account of the Centaurs in general, as figured on the painted vases of the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> The passages or episodes of the Centaur myth habitually illustrated in this form of art are five in number, viz. :—

1. *The battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ at the wedding feast of Peirithoos and Hippodameia, or Deidameia, on Mount Pelion* ; when the Centaurs, being present as guests, maddened themselves with wine, and one of them seized the bride ; whereupon a general conflict ensued, ending in the rout of the monsters and their expulsion from Thessaly.

This battle is said by Aelian<sup>2</sup> to have been made the subject of a separate poem by an early epic writer, Melisandros of Miletus ; but neither of Melisandros nor his work have we any other record. In our extant writings, allusion is made to the battle twice in the *Iliad* : once where Nestor extols the Lapith

<sup>1</sup> A sketch of some of the characteristic points of the Centaur legend was given by the present writer in the *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. xxxviii. (1878), pp. 284 and 409. The modern literature of this curious subject is contained in : Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, pt. ii. lib. vi., ch. 10 ; Gaspar Baschet, *Sieur de Méziriac, Comm. sur les Épitres d'Ovide*, vol. i. p. 149 sqq. ; the Abbé Banier, *Mythol. expliquée par l'Histoire*, vol. iii. ch. 12 ; Fréret and Maizeray in *Mémoires Litt.*, t. viii. p. 319, and t. xii. p. 249 ;

Millin, *Gal. Encycl.* ; Voss, *Mythologische Briefe*, Br. lxxi. ; C. A. Böttiger, *Griech. Vasengemälde*, iii. pp. 75—162 ; Stackelberg, *Der Apollotempel zu Bassæ*, p. 66 sqq. ; Welcker, *KL. Schriften*, Th. iii. p. 18 sqq. ; Gerhard, *Griech. Myth.*, i. 544, and *Id.*, *Auserl. Vasenbilder*, 121, 130 ; Preller, *Griech. Myth.*, ii. p. 9, sqq. 194—196 ; Stephani, *Compte Rendu de la Comm. imp. d'Archéol. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1865, p. 102 sqq. ; 1873, p. 90 sqq. ; &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ael. *Var. Hist.* xi. 2.

warriors, whom he had known in his youth, as having been the mightiest of earthly heroes, and having quelled the mightiest foes, to wit the Centaurs;<sup>1</sup> and again in the catalogue of ships, where the Thessalian leader Polypoites is commemorated as the son begotten of Hippodameia by the Lapith king Peirithoos on the day when he chastised the monsters and drove them from Pelion.<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that in neither of these two instances are the monsters called by their name κένταυροι; they are spoken of only as mountain-haunting brutes, shaggy brutes, φῆρες ὄρεσκόφῳι, φῆρες λαχνηέντες. In the *Odyssey*, on the other hand, the name κένταυροι is used in the only passage where they are mentioned, which is in the warning against drunkenness addressed by Antinoos to the disguised Odysseus.<sup>3</sup> As the story is there told, the feud is not in the first instance a general one arising at the wedding feast between the whole troop of Centaurs and their hosts, but a consequence of the individual misconduct of one of them, Eurytion, who is forthwith condignly punished, and whose punishment excites the wrath of his fellow monsters. In the Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles*, not the battle itself, but the representation of it as embossed upon the imaginary shield, is described at some length; the Centaurs being called by their name, with the addition of proper names for the individual combatants on either side.<sup>4</sup> A fragment of Pindar preserved by Athenaeus relates the beginning of the brawl, telling how on the broaching of wine the Centaurs thrust away the milk that had been set before them, and seized the wine and were driven wild by it.<sup>5</sup> Another fragment of the same author and probably from the same ode, preserved by the scholiast on Apollonios, refers to the incident of the overwhelming of Kaineus, the invulnerable Lapith hero, with rocks.<sup>6</sup> These are all the explicit and particular references to the celebrated strife of the Centaurs and Lapithae which occur in the earlier Greek writers. For a fuller narrative we must have recourse to authorities of later date, and particularly to Ovid, who in the twelfth book of the *Metamorphoses* tells the story with amplifications which run to the length of 350

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* i. 262 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* ii. 741 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* xxi. 295.

<sup>4</sup> *Hes. Scut. Herc.* 128 *sqq.*, see below,

p. 161.

<sup>5</sup> Pind. ap. Athen. xii. 51 (Fr. 143, ed. Bergk).

<sup>6</sup> Pind. Fr. 144, ed. Bergk.

lines, and are partly, it is evident, borrowed from some Greek original.<sup>1</sup> Not to speak of incidental references, the battle is also narrated by Plutarch,<sup>2</sup> and by several of the mythographers and annalists, particularly Diodoros and Apollodoros.<sup>3</sup>

For the sculptors and painters of the great age of Greek art this was the central episode of the Centaur myth, and practically put its other episodes out of sight. The reason of this lay in the lead taken among schools of art in that age by the Athenian. Populations claiming descent from Lapith princes had early found their way from Thessaly into Attica, where they had settled in amity with the Ionian tribes. Hence the legend of the intimate friendship between the Lapith King, Peirithoos, and the Athenian hero, Theseus. In the mythic rout of the Centaurs on Mount Pelion, Theseus had borne a prominent part in aid of his friend; having been, according to the common account, an invited guest at the feast, but, according to the *Herakleia* of Herodoros, having only come to the help of the Lapithae when the war was already raging.<sup>4</sup> The exploits of Theseus on this occasion, along with the same hero's overthrow of the Amazons before the walls of the Akropolis, came to be thought symbolical of the historical victories of Athenian prowess over invading barbarism. Among such victories it is expressly commemorated by Isokrates.<sup>5</sup> As treated in art by Pheidias and his contemporaries, the victories of Theseus over the Centaurs and the Amazons are types, of which the anti-types are Marathon, Salamis, and Plataiai. Accordingly we find the battle on Mount Pelion represented over and over again in the works of this school; among monuments still extant, in the frieze of the supposed Theseion at Athens, in that of the temple of Apollo at Pligaleia, in the metopes of the Parthenon, and in the recently recovered pedimental composition of Alkamenes for the temple of Zeus at Olympia: among recorded monuments which have perished, in the paintings of Mikon for the temple of Theseus,<sup>6</sup> the reliefs round the edges of the sandals of the Athenè Parthenos of Pheidias,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ov. *Met.* xii. 182-535.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. *Thes.* xxx.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. iv. 13; Apollod. ii. 5, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Thes.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Isokr. on the Kentauromachia of

Theseus, *Helena*, 16; on the Amazonomachia, *Paneg.*, 68, 70; *Archid.* 42; *Areop.*, 75; *Panathen.*, 193.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. iii. 18, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. i. 17, 2.

and those said to have been wrought in metal by Mys, from the designs of Parrhasios, for the adornment of the Athenè Promachos of the same master after his death.<sup>1</sup> But in the art with which we are here concerned, the art of vase-painting, whether in its earlier or later stages, this particular phase of our myth is far from receiving the same exclusive attention as from the monumental sculptors and painters of the age of Perikles. The potters even of the Athenian Kerameikos had it for their business, not especially to glorify the ancestral achievements of their own race, but to provide acceptable wares for sale in the markets of colonial settlements belonging to all races of the Greeks, as well as in those of foreign communities, and particularly of Etruria. Accordingly they as a rule choose for illustration those myths or portions of myths which were the most universally current in Greek popular tradition. Hence, in relation to the Centaur myth, the particular incident most flattering to Athenian patriotism receives at their hands no more than a fair proportional share of attention.

The most interesting representation of the battle on Mount Pelion is that given on the celebrated archaic vase bearing the names of the potter Ergotimos and the painter Kleitias, known from the name of its discoverer as the François vase,<sup>2</sup> and preserved in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. In this quaint and elaborate early pictorial epitome of popular mythology, of which the scenes are packed as closely as possible in bands or tiers one above another, the strife between Lapithæ and Centaurs occupies a band on the neck of the vase; a place where it not infrequently occurs again in vases of some centuries later date, when, after the intervening periods of the Rigid and the Perfect styles, the fashion of decorating the surface with numerous superimposed scenes returns in the so-called Rich style of the decadence. In the François vase, where almost every personage and every object is identified by an inscription in a primitive Attic alphabet, the Lapith and Centaur combatants are severally named; their names tallying so closely with those given by Hesiod as to make it clear that the poet and the vase-painter had in their minds an identical version of the story. Theseus is present, and the incident of the overwhelming of

<sup>1</sup> Paus. i. 28, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. pl. 56; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1850, pl. 23.

Kaineus is prominent. In less primitive ware, where the system of decoration no longer admits the crowding of minute figures, the battle is generally represented by single episodes—the rescue of the bride, the overwhelming of Kaineus, or a single combat between a Centaur and a Greek. A fine example is a *krater* of the Free style at the British Museum, where on one side two Centaurs precipitate rocks upon Kaineus, while a Lapith strikes at a third monster who on the other side drives the sharp butt of an uprooted tree into the breast of his comrade.<sup>1</sup> Generally, when a Centaur is represented wielding his accustomed weapons of branch and boulder against a Greek hero who is not recognizable as Herakles, or against two together, (and such representations occur in all periods of the art), we may consider that the enemy figured is Theseus, or Theseus with Peirithoos, and that the battle in question is the battle on Mount Pelion. So, too, where a Centaur in the act of carrying off a woman is assailed by a hero again not definitely identified as Herakles. Sometimes, in vases of the Perfect style, the incidents of this battle on Mount Pelion are brought within the cycle of properly palaestric representations, and the enemies who contend against the monsters are not warriors using the weapons of warfare, or snatching up for their defence, in accordance with the ancient texts, the furniture of the feast,<sup>2</sup> but athletes, wearing the usual band about their hair, and putting forth the regular skill of the boxer or pankratiast.<sup>3</sup> But as none of our three present illustrations have reference to this particular subject, we need not here discuss it farther.

2. *The encounter of Herakles and the Centaurs on Mount Pholœ in Arcadia*; when the good Centaur Pholos entertained Herakles at his cave, setting roast meat before his guest while he supped on raw himself, but saying that he feared to open the store jar where the Centaurs kept their wine; which however, at the instance of Herakles, he presently opened; and the other Centaurs thereupon gathering about the cave armed with rocks and boughs, Herakles slew the first who entered with brands plucked from the fire, and pursued the rest with his arrows as

<sup>1</sup> *Cat. of Vases in Brit. Mus.*, ii. no. 1266.

<sup>2</sup> Especially Ov. *Metam.* xii. 235 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> See particularly the fine example at Florence (Heydemann, *Die Antikensammlungen Mittelalters*, Florence, p. 86, no. 16, and pl. iii. no. 1.)

far as Cape Malea, where Cheiron, having been driven by the Lapithae from Mount Pelion, had at that time his refuge.

This adventure was sometimes regarded as one of the greater *ἀθλα* of Herakles, but more usually as a *πάρεργον ὁδοῦ* happening in the course of the labour of the Erymanthian boar. From Thessaly, it seems, the Centaur myth had been transplanted to the Peloponnesos; from the mountain-range of Pelion to the mountain-range of Pholoë, between Elis and Arcadia; or else it had sprung up there also in the natural course of things, as being a myth of the mountains common from the earliest times to various races of the Greeks. The two legends are closely associated; the name of Pholos sometimes appearing also in the list of Thessalian Centaurs; and Cheiron in his turn being sometimes represented as associated with Pholos in offering hospitality to Herakles, or again, as meeting his death during the pursuit from Pholoë to Cape Malea. The ordinary account is that the Arcadian horde consisted of fugitives from the rout on Pelion; but a reverse relation between the two branches of the story seems also to have been alleged (see Schol. *Il.* i. 266).

The Arcadian Centaurs are, like the Thessalian, the children of Nephelè, a savage and unapproachable horde, untameable in lust, ungovernable at the taste or smell of wine, subsisting upon the raw flesh of animals of the chase, and accustomed to descend from their mountain solitudes to ravage the adjacent country, armed always either with masses of rock or with severed branches or uprooted trunks of pines. And as in the Thessalian legend there exists along with this savage horde the one humane and wise Centaur Cheiron, so in the Arcadian legend there exists the good Centaur Pholos; not indeed, like Cheiron, a trainer of heroes and husband and sire of beautiful nymphs, but mild and companionable, the host and friend of Herakles, by whose inadvertence (again like Cheiron) he at last meets his death. It is Herakles, the hero of all Greeks in common, but the favourite hero of the Dorians, who in this phase of the myth takes the place of Theseus and his Thessalian allies.

The earliest literary allusion to the story which has reached us is in a fragment of Stesichoros preserved by Athenaeus, where the huge cup handed to Herakles by Pholos is described

as a σκύφειον . . . δέπας ἔμμετρον ὡς τριλάγυνον.<sup>1</sup> The legend of Herakles and Pholos is not mentioned in Homer, Hesiod, or Pindar. We know, however, that it had early entered into the current conception of the popular hero's history. There is good reason to suppose that it was included in the narratives of the two poets, Peisandros of Kameiros and Panyasis of Halikarnassos, who are known to have treated that history in epic form, the former in the seventh and the latter in the fifth century B.C.; as well as in the prose chronicle of Herodoros, a contemporary of Hekataios. 'Ηρακλῆς ὁ παρὰ Φόλῳ was the title of a comedy by Epicharmos,<sup>2</sup> and the subject had no doubt been before his time embodied in some of the satyric shows and maskings common among populations of Dorian race. It was figured in archaic works of art like the Amyklaean throne<sup>3</sup> and the chest of Kypselos.<sup>4</sup> We cannot tell whether Quintus Smyrnaeus, imitating the manner of Homer about the fifth century of our own era, is writing out of his own head, or repeating some ancient epic prototype, or using materials supplied by the later mythographers, when he describes the labours of Herakles wrought in relief on the shield of Eurypylos, and among them his adventure with the Centaurs, 'when wine and the spirit of strife stirred up those monsters to fight against him at the house of Pholos.' Some, says the poet, were shown prostrate upon the pines which they grasped in their hands; others still carrying on the fight with the like weapons.<sup>5</sup> Among the Attic tragedians, this exploit is mentioned in the *Trachiniai* of Sophokles,<sup>6</sup> and thrice in the *Frenzy of Herakles* of Euripides, once by Amphytrion, once by the chorus, and once by the hero himself.<sup>7</sup> Readers will also be familiar with the allusion at the end of the *Thulusia* of Theokritos, in which Cheiron is directly associated with Pholos as being present and offering the wine to Herakles.<sup>8</sup> Other allusions are frequent in later writers.

<sup>1</sup> Stesich. ap. Athen. *Deipnos.*, xi. 499 A.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhardt, *Grundr. der Griech. Lit.*, 2te Bearb., pt. ii. vol. ii. p. 463, 464.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. iii. 18, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. v. 19, 2. τοξεύοντα δὲ ἄνδρα κενταύρους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπεκτονότα ἐξ

αὐτῶν, δῆλα 'Ηρακλέα τε τὸν τοξεύοντα, καὶ 'Ηρακλέους εἶναι τὸ ἔργον.

<sup>5</sup> Quint. Smyrn. *Posthom.* vi. 273 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> Soph. *Trach.* 1095 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 181 sqq., 364 sqq., 1271 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> Theokr. *Idyl.* vii. 149.

Lucian expressly refers to the attitude in which painters were accustomed to represent Herakles and Pholos reclining together after the meal.<sup>1</sup> Philostratos in the *Ἡρωικός* adds a curious touch when he makes the vine-dresser enlightened by intercourse with the shade of Protesilaos quote, as a proof of the antiquity of poetry, the lines said to have been affixed by Herakles himself to the corpse of the Centaur Asbolos when he hung it up as a prey for the crows after the battle :—<sup>2</sup>

Ἄσβολος οὔτε θεῶν τρομέων ὕπιν ἐντ' ἀνθρώπων  
ὄξυκόμοιο κρεμαστὸς ἀπ' εὐλιπέος [?] κατὰ πεύκης  
ἄγκειμαι μέγα δειπνὸν ἀμετροβίοις κοράκεσσι.

But for an explicit narration of the adventure and its sequel we must again go to the annalists and mythographers, Apollodoros,<sup>3</sup> Diodoros,<sup>4</sup> and latest of all Tzetzes.<sup>5</sup> Diodoros in this connection uses a phrase concerning the Centaurs which is contrary to the usual way of speaking about them. Savage senselessness was a part of their accepted character: the saying *νοῦς οὐ παρὰ κενταύροισι* having been supposed to come down from Peisandros. But Diodoros, for the greater renown of Herakles, represents his antagonists as adding skill and sense to their other advantages: *ἔδει γὰρ διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν μητρὸς θεοῦς ὄντας, τὸ δὲ τάχος ἔχοντας ἵππων, ῥώμῃ δὲ δισωμάτους θήρας, ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ σῖνεσιν ἔχοντας ἀνδρῶν*. Apollodoros is particular about the names of the two assailants of the hero, Anchios and Agrios, who first came on and were first slain. Tzetzes, on the other hand, makes Asbolos the original aggressor and inciter of the rest; hence his gibbeting; which Tzetzes, with especial praise to Herakles for his verses, recites apparently after Apollodoros.

With the vase-painters, and especially the archaic vase-painters or those who imitated the archaic, painting in the Rigid style with black figures on a yellow or red ground, the exploits of the popular hero Herakles were at all times favourite subjects; and not the least favourite was his exploit at the cave of Pholos. The representations hitherto known divide themselves into two classes: one (*a*) in which is depicted the welcome of Herakles

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *Symp.* 13, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. iv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 328.

<sup>5</sup> Tzetz. *Chil.* v. 111-137.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. ii. 5, 4.

by Pholos; the other *b*) the attack by the Centaurs, their repulse and pursuit. The industry of Dr. Stephani<sup>1</sup> has collected thirty-one known examples of group *a*, and fourteen of group *b*. In group *a* twenty-eight are of archaic or pseudo-archaic ware, and three only of the Free style. In group *b*, eleven are archaic or pseudo-archaic, and three again free. The representations are not strictly uniform in either class. In group *a* the huge *πίθος* or stone jar usually occupies the middle place, on one side of which stands Herakles, and on the other Pholos, sometimes seen emerging from his cave, which is represented as a black mass seen in profile and projecting towards the top—the *λαῖνον ἀντρον* of Theokritos. Sometimes they shake hands over the jar, as in a vase at the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> and sometimes merely converse, as in one at Berlin.<sup>3</sup> In these cases the *πίθος* is often represented as covered by a great lid, painted white. Sometimes this lid has been or is being removed, either by a Centaur or by Herakles himself, and in one enigmatical instance Herakles is lifting up, instead of the lid, an unexplained elongated object resembling a human mummy with a snake at its middle.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes again Herakles is stooping over the opened *πίθος*, and dipping into it with a smaller vessel, *κάνθαρος*, *κύαθος*, or *οἶνοχόη*. Lastly, three vases depict the scene at the point where, according to the passage of Lucian above mentioned, it was commonly represented in the regular works of painting, *i.e.* when Herakles and Pholos are amicably reclining at the feast.<sup>5</sup> Occasionally one Centaur, or more, is present besides Pholos, and occasionally the personage either of guest or of host is missing, although the scene is otherwise identified.

Passing to group 2 *b*, in which the violence and rout of the Centaurs are exhibited, we find that the actual scene of the conflict is only in one of the instances collected by Dr. Stephani indicated by the presence of the *πίθος*.<sup>6</sup> The number of the monsters put to flight by Herakles varies from two, the

<sup>1</sup> *Compte Rendu*, etc. 1873; p. 90 sqq. and pl. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. of Vases in the British Museum*, 661.

<sup>3</sup> Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pl. 119, 7; see also nos. 3 and 5 of the same plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Compte Rendu*, etc., 1873, pl. iv.;

and see Stephani, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Stephani, *loc. cit.* nos. 5; 11; 17, = resp. Jahn, *Vasens. Königs Ludwigs*, 661; *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1865, pl. 201; Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. p. 128, note 24 *e*.

<sup>6</sup> *Mus. Greg.* ii. pl. 39.

commonest number, to eight, and in one of the richest and most spirited examples of the archaic style amounts to six.<sup>1</sup> In some instances Herakles appears not alone, but in company with his friend Iolaos; and in one at least, that of the Berlin vase last mentioned, there is also present his patron goddess Athenē, whom, together with Hermes, it is the custom of the early vase-painters frequently to represent as standing by this hero in the performance of his labours. Lastly, a small number of vases represent isolated encounters of Herakles with individual Centaurs after the dispersal of the horde; and there are a few more depicting similar actions in which no attribute or cognizance enables us to tell whether the victorious hero is Herakles or Theseus.

To the list of Pholos illustrations briefly reviewed above, I am now enabled, by the kindness of my friend, the distinguished French archaeologist, Mons. O. Rayet, to add another from a vase in his possession (see Plate I.), which differs from those hitherto known both by its greater antiquity and its greater comprehensiveness; inasmuch as it belongs to quite the most primitive period of Greek mythologic art, and unites features hitherto only found apart in the several classes 2 *a* and 2 *b*. We will return to its examination as soon as we have briefly gone over the remaining Centaur subjects known to the vase-painter.

3. *The outrage attempted by Nessos on Deianeira*; when Herakles, having in conflict with Acheloos won the hand of Deianeira, daughter of Oeneus king of Kalydon, comes with her to a swollen ford of the Euenos where the Centaur Nessos acts as ferryman; to whom Herakles confides his wife, but who attempts violence to her on the passage; whereupon the hero slays him with an arrow, but not before he has had time to give Deianeira a philtre of the issue of his wounds, which is destined afterwards to prove fatal to her lord.

Classing this well-known subject as 3 *a*, we may annex to it as 3 *b* a kindred representation from which it is sometimes nearly indistinguishable; viz., the chastisement by Herakles of a similar outrage attempted near Olenos in the Peloponnesos by another Centaur, variously named Eurytion, Monychos, or Dexamenos, upon another lady variously named Deianeira,

<sup>1</sup> Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.* pl. 119, 1.

Mnesimachè, Hippolytè the affianced bride of Azan, or Alkyonè the daughter of Eurystheus. In either case the offending monster is spoken of as one escaped from the slaughter of his comrades either in the Thessalian conflict on Mount Pelion or in the Arcadian conflict on Mount Pholoë. The earliest mention of the Nessos story which has reached us is taken from a lost poem of Archilochos, where the poet was blamed for making Deianeira address a lengthened plaint to Herakles at the moment of the outrage.<sup>1</sup> The story is told, as is well known, at full length by Deianeira herself in the *Trachiniai* of Sophokles,<sup>2</sup> and again by Ovid<sup>3</sup> and Seneca,<sup>4</sup> as well as, in terms almost identical with one another, by the annalists Diodoros<sup>5</sup> and Apollodoros;<sup>6</sup> besides allusions too numerous to catalogue. Among the gallery of pictures described or imagined by the younger Philostratos, is one representing this subject with features which we find actually existing in a mural painting of Pompeii.<sup>7</sup> In vase-paintings the subject is common enough. One good archaic example at the British Museum<sup>8</sup> is identified by inscriptions giving the names of the personages, and others are not uncommon. Sometimes additional personages, as the father of the outraged lady, and Hermes or Athenè, or both, stand by. When the lady is seated for the passage on the back of the Centaur, and when Herakles employs against him the bow and arrows required by the story, there can be no doubt that the incident represented is that at the ford of the Euenos. When, on the other hand, as in a fine example at the British Museum, Herakles uses not his bow, but his club; especially if at the same time the Centaur, instead of conveying the lady on his back, has seized and is carrying her violently off; and if a smaller or greater number of unexplained additional personages appear; then we may infer that the subject of the illustration is one of those independent stories to which allusion has already been made.<sup>9</sup>

These stories are confused enough, especially from the way in which the name Dexamenos occurs in them. This

<sup>1</sup> Bergk. *Poet. lyr.*, Archil. Fr. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Soph. *Trach.* 555-557.

<sup>3</sup> Ov. *Met.* ix. 98, *sqq.*; *Heroid.* ix. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Seneca, *Herc. Oct.* 500, *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Diod. iv. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Apollod. ii. 7, 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Mus. Borbon.* vi. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Hancarville, *Ant. Etr.* iv. pl. 31  
*Cat. of Vases in the British Museum*  
vol. i. 932.

<sup>9</sup> Apollod. ii. 5, 5; Diod. iv. 33  
*Pedias. de Herc. labor.* 5; Paus. vii.  
18, 1; Hyg. *fab.* 31, 33.

word would naturally signify the 'host' or 'entertainer,' *i.e.* of Herakles, and sometimes seems to be merely another name for Oeneus, the Aetolian king and father of Deianeira. In Pausanias, Diodoros, and Apollodoros, the name is given to a king of Olenos in Achaia; according to Diodoros it is the daughter of this king, Hippolytè, whom the hero saves from insult by the Centaur Eurytion at her marriage with Azan, or Axas; according to Apollodoros, his daughter Mnesinachè whom the hero saves at her father's request from a forced marriage with the same Eurytion. In all these stories we may recognise the attempts of the populations of the border-land of Elis and Achaia to appropriate to their own country fragments both of the original Thessalian legend of Eurytion and the bride of Peirithoos, and of the original Actolian legend of Nessos and Deianeira. That such attempts were current as early as the sixth century we can tell from the account attributed to Bacchylides by the scholiast on Od. xxii. 295;<sup>1</sup> and they are not without their reflection in the art of the vase-painters. When, indeed, we find the name Dexamenos transferred in one instance by a vase-painter and in another by a scholiast to the offending Centaur himself, we can only suppose a confusion, originating probably in the carelessness of artists and reacting upon that of commentators.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with two polychrome vases, one of them of extraordinary richness, found in the Crimea and representing a damsel in the grasp of a Centaur, an avenging Herakles, various bystanders, and two Erôtes in the air above, Dr. Stephani has again collected and discussed, perhaps with some over-refinement of ingenuity and learning, all the evidence available for the illustration of this subject.<sup>3</sup> To his discussion of the matter, as it is not touched in any of our present illustrations, we must refer the reader; passing on to

4. *The winning and wedding of Thetis by Peleus*; when Cheiron taught that hero how to overcome the wiles by which the goddess sought to elude him, and afterwards bade them to their wedding feast at his home in the Pelethronian cave.

Among the early Greek epics the *Kypria* of Stasinus was

<sup>1</sup> Bergk, *Poet. lyr.* Bacchyl. Fr. 60.

vase, *Mus. Borb.* vol. v. pl. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. ad. Callim. *Hymn. in Del.*  
102; and the inscription on the Naples

<sup>3</sup> *Compte Rendu, etc.*, 1865. p. 102, sqq., and pl. iv.

that which recounted the infancy and early days of Achilles. It is a disputed point whether the wooing and winning of his mother Thetis by his father Peleus was in that body of poetry narrated in full, or only by way of allusion.<sup>1</sup> A nuptial song of Peleus and Thetis is enumerated among the lost works of Hesiod, and may perhaps have formed part of the *Κατάλογος γυναικῶν* or the *Ἡοῖαι*; <sup>2</sup> from it Catullus is by some writers supposed to have taken the materials for his famous *Epithalamium*. Pindar, who in his task of enumerating the family glories of his aristocratic contemporaries has occasion over and over again to tell of the training of their ancestral heroes by Cheiron, alludes several times to the capture by Peleus of his ocean bride according to the instructions of that teacher.<sup>3</sup> In the *Iliad* there are allusions of Thetis herself, of Achilles, and of Hera, to her marriage with Peleus,<sup>4</sup> as well as others to the present given by the gods at the wedding-feast,<sup>5</sup> and two, in identical words, to the present of the mighty spear given by Cheiron himself, the *ἔγχος*

βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν  
πάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μιν οἷος ἐπίστατο πῆλαι Ἀχιλλεύς,  
Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλω πόρε Χείρων  
Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν.<sup>6</sup>

Euripides in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* tells explicitly of the marriage and its circumstances; <sup>7</sup> the meeting of the hero with the goddess, and her magic transformations, are told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*; <sup>8</sup> and the whole story, including the point about the assistance of Cheiron, by Apollodorus.<sup>9</sup>

The subject, for the purposes of pictorial representation, divides itself into 4 *a*, the seizure of Thetis by Peleus, and 4 *b*, the marriage. The former was, we know, represented on the chest of Kypselos, and it is a peculiarly favourite subject with the

<sup>1</sup> See Bergk in *Zeitschr. für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1850, p. 406, *sqq.*, Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, ii. pp. 92, 132; and on the other side Overbeck, *Bildwerke zum theb. u. troisch. Heldenkreis*, pp. 171, 172.

<sup>2</sup> See Overbeck, *op. cit.* p. 172, note 3, and Markscheffel, *De Catalogo et Eois*.

<sup>3</sup> Pind. *Nem.* iii. 56, 95, iv. 60-68,

*Isthm.* viii. 59-143.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* xviii. 84, 432, xxiv. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* xvi. 867, xvii. 195, 443.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* xvi. 140, *sqq.* xix. 387, *sqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 700-707, 1036-1080.

<sup>8</sup> Ov. *Met.* xi. 220-265.

<sup>9</sup> Apollod. iii. 13, 5.

vase-painters. Sometimes it is represented with and sometimes without the incidents of transformation; these, when they occur, being symbolically suggested by the addition of a snake, lion, or chimaera, severally or all together, contiguous to some part of the person of Thetis. Both modes of treatment occur in vases alike of the early or black-figured and of the later or red-figured style. Prof. Overbeck in 1857 counted eighteen of the former and twenty of the latter,<sup>1</sup> without, however, claiming completeness for his list; to which would now have to be added at least one signal example of the treatment without transformations, in the shape of the famous Kameiros vase at the British Museum, one of the most beautiful extant examples of the later polychrome style. In these representations the presence of the Centaur Cheiron, indicating by means of his physical *παράστασις* the fact of his counsel and countenance in the undertaking, is frequent, but by no means constant, even when a considerable number of nymphs and other accessory personages, as Eros, Peitho, and the like, is introduced. Well-known examples of the black-figured style are the scene on an amphora from Vulci, now at Munich,<sup>2</sup> and of the red-figured style that on the lid of a *lekanè* at Naples.<sup>3</sup>

4 *b*, the marriage of the hero and goddess at the home of Cheiron, is a subject of not nearly so frequent occurrence as the last. In it the presence of Cheiron is naturally indispensable. By far the most important example is that on the François-vase already so often mentioned. Here the veiled bride is seen sitting within a temple or sanctuary, before which stands Peleus receiving the procession of divinities who has come to do honour to his nuptials, and foremost among them Cheiron; who walks step by step with Iris, followed by his wife Chariklo along with Hestia and Demeter, after whom comes Dionysos, then the Hours, and then the long file of Muses and of Gods. Another and later vase shows the same event in a much simpler and more compendious form: Cheiron half emerging from his cave, and holding out an arm to welcome Peleus, who, bearing two spears in his left hand, with his right leads along the downcast Thetis.

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck, *Bildwerke*, etc., p. 172-197.

<sup>2</sup> Gerh. Auserl. *Vasenb.* pl. 227, Overbeck, *Herosch. Bildw.*, pl. vii. no. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* i. pl. 4; Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. viii. no. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Inghirami, *Mus. Chiusino*, i. pl. 46, 47; Overbeck, *op. cit.* pl. viii. no. 6.

Our own Cheiron illustration deals not with this but with a later stage of his relations to Peleus, viz.:—

5. *The bringing of Achilles to the cave of Cheiron*; when Peleus at the desire of Thetis, who is constrained by destiny to leave him, takes their child Achilles to receive from the wise Centaur the training of a hero.

The nurture of Achilles by Cheiron in the Pelethronian cave is a constant feature in the traditions concerning that hero. The account of it was probably incorporated in the same body of epic poetry, the *Kypria*, to which we have referred; though we cannot tell from what precise sources the Roman poet Statius drew the materials for the detailed recital which fills the opening part of his unfinished *Achilleïs*. In the *Iliad* allusion is made to the drugs of which Achilles had learned the use from this master, and which he had given to Patroklos, whom the wounded Eurypylos asks to apply them:—

ἐπὶ δ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσε,  
ἔσθλὰ, τά σε προτὶ φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιδάχθαι,  
ὃν Χείρων ἐδίδαξε δικαιοτάτος Κενταύρων.<sup>1</sup>

Pindar, on his part, after celebrating the exercise in javelin-play, boar-hunting, and lion-hunting in which Cheiron practises the youth of Achilles, goes on to speak of his tutorship of the child in the same breath as of his good offices at the marriage of his mother:—<sup>2</sup>

νύμφευσε δ' αὖτις ἀγλαόκαρπον  
Νηρέος θύγατρα, γόνον τέ οἱ φέρτατον  
ἀτίταλλεν ἐν ἀρμένοισι πάντα θυμὸν αὔξων.

For the rest, the description in Statius and the brief account in Apollodoros<sup>3</sup> are our principal extant sources. It is a curious fact that among the whole catalogue of other heroes recorded as having shared the education of Cheiron, as Jason, Asklepios, Telamon, and a dozen more,<sup>4</sup> Achilles is the only one recognized in extant works of painting. There is among the *εἰκόνες* of the elder Philostratus an elaborate description of an Ἀχιλλέως τροφαί;<sup>5</sup> and the subject, especially one particular presentment

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xi. 832.

<sup>2</sup> Pind. *Nem.* iii. 75-100

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. iii. 13, 6.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Pindar, *loc. cit.*, and especially Xenophon, *Cyneg.* 1.

<sup>5</sup> Philostr. *Imag.* ii. 2.

of it, with Cheiron seated on his hind legs like a dog, and teaching Achilles the use of the lyre, is well known from a Pompeian wall-painting<sup>1</sup> and from gems. By the vase-painters, on the other hand, the life or exercises of Achilles with Cheiron are never represented. Nor do they show any hint of such a subject as that recorded by Pausanias to have been figured on the chest of Kypselos: the visit, namely, paid by Cheiron from his home among the immortals to the Greek camp at Troy in order to console Achilles after he had lost Patroklos. They take only this single scene of the hero's introduction to the master as a child by his father Peleus, accompanied sometimes by his mother Thetis. Prof. Overbeck in 1857 was able to count six, and fully to describe three, vases bearing this representation.<sup>2</sup> In one Peleus strides hastily forward, carrying the child on his arm, towards the Centaur, who advances to meet him; behind Peleus stands Thetis, behind Cheiron the nymphs, his mother, daughter, and wife. In another Achilles is older, and stands on the ground lifting his left hand either in salutation to his new master or in surprise at his monstrous shape, and in his right holding what seems to be a hoop. In a third Achilles holds out both arms towards Cheiron, while on one side Thetis is standing beside the chariot of Peleus. Another vase representing the same subject was bought two years ago for the Louvre (see Fig. 4). Another, formerly in the Blacas collection, is in the British Museum, and is reproduced in our Plate II.

Besides these five regular classes of Centaur representations, illustrating stock incidents of the myth such as first the epic and afterwards the lyric poets had made universally familiar, we may distinguish two minor and supplementary groups, viz.:

6. *Centours in the character of hunters.* This is an aspect in which the monsters are commemorated over and over again by literature. Cheiron, as we have seen, is expressly called by Pindar *φῶρ ἀγρότερος*, and among the exercises in which he trains the young Achilles is the hunting of boars and lions.<sup>3</sup> In like manner Philostratos, in summing up the virtues of Cheiron—*θῆρας τε γὰρ ποικίλης ἤπτετο κ.τ.λ.*<sup>4</sup> Xenophon had put

<sup>1</sup> Zahn, *Die merkwürdigsten Ornamente*, &c., iii. pl. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *op. cit.* pp. 281-281.

See also Collignon.

<sup>3</sup> Pind. *Nem.* iii. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Philostr. *Heroic*, p. 305.

the name of Cheiron, and the list of his pupils, at the head of his own treatise on the chase. Statius, following probably some Greek authority, contrasts the peaceable avocations of the chase, as followed by Cheiron, with the wars and brawlings of his fellow-monsters:—

——at intra

Centauri stabula alta patent, non aequa nefandis  
fratribus; hic hominum nullos experta cruores  
spicula, nec truncae bellis genialibus orni,  
aut consanguineos fracti crateres in hostes,  
sed pharetrae insontes et inania terga ferarum.<sup>1</sup>

But of the Centaurs of Arcadia no less, we are told by Oppian how they were wont to catch their supper along the slopes of windy Pholoë:—

ἀμφὶ πόδας Φολόης ἀνεμώδεος ἄγρια φῦλα  
θηρομιγῇ, μερίπων μὲν ἐπ' ἰξύας, ἰξυόθεν δὲ  
ἵππων ἡμιβρότων, ἐπιδόρπιον εὔρετο θήρην.<sup>2</sup>

A questionable Centaur on some Kameiros gold ornaments holds up an animal of the chase with one hand, and may thus give the earliest instance of this aspect of the monsters in art.<sup>3</sup> In all forms of art during the Greco-Roman period, the hunting Centaur is a very favourite subject. His game, in works of this period, is usually the lion and panther, as in the famous Marcosschi mosaic now at Berlin, and in several mural paintings, sarcophagus reliefs, silver utensils, &c. In the picture of Zeuxis described by Lucian, the parent Centaur holds up a lion cub to please his young; Dr. Stephani supposes that this was a novelty, and that the innovation designated by Lucian, when he speaks of Zeuxis having in his picture abandoned τὰ δημώδη καὶ κοινά, was this of making Centaurs lion-hunters. That, however, can hardly be the case, considering the exploits of the pupil of Cheiron against lions as told by Pindar; and considering that the Centaurs early appear with the skins of lions or panthers tied about their throats for a garment; e.g. in our gem, fig. 1 (see p. 129), and in the Phigaleian frieze; compare Pl. III. But it is none the less certain that the vase-painters make the Centaurs almost exclusively hunters, not of large, but of small game.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stat., *Achill.*, i. 110 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Opp., *Cyneg.*, ii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 130, and Salzmann, *Lu Nicrop. de Kameiros*.

In the representations of classes 3, 4, and 5, as we have seen, Pholos and Cheiron are accustomed to carry hares, foxes, or birds slung from their shoulders by a pine-branch. But, besides this, there are instances enough to form a distinct though not a numerous group, in which vase-painters have shown Centaurs actually engaged in the chase.<sup>1</sup> These subjects hardly ever form more than a subordinate decoration of the vases where they occur. Sometimes a pair of Centaurs drag each a branch in one hand and a roe by the neck in the other; sometimes one stands alone with roe, fox, hare, or bird slung from his shouldered bough.<sup>2</sup> On a good example at the British Museum, two, galloping from opposite sides, hurl each a stone at a bird as big as themselves, flying midway between them.<sup>3</sup>

7. *Centaurs in association with Bacchus and his train.* This is another subject treated very commonly indeed by artists of all kinds in the Greco-Roman period, but very sparingly and ambiguously by the Greek vase-painters. What I have to say about this class of representations will come most conveniently under the discussion of Plate III. And now let us take our three plates in order and detail.

Plate I.—The encounter of Herakles and the Centaurs on Mount Pholoë; see above, Class 2. Small two-handled drinking-cup of the form called by Panofka *kotylos* and by Gerhard *kotylē*,<sup>4</sup> but rather *skyphos*, the *kotylos* being distinctly characterised by Athenaeus as one-handled. H., ctm. 10, diam., ctm. 14, or across handles, 20.

This cup, found at Corinth and now in the possession of M. Rayet, is technically of the same fabric, though somewhat unusually thin, as several others found in the same neighbourhood, and forming a separate group in the class known generically as Greco-Phoenician.<sup>5</sup> The wares of this class are distinguished by bands of ornament and figures completely encircling them, such ornaments and figures having their outlines and markings sharply incised, and being painted in a

<sup>1</sup> For all that relates to the hunting habits of Centaurs, consult again Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, &c. 1862, p. 71, and esp. 1867, p. 77, 89, 113.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Jahn, *Vasens. Königs Ludwigs*, 155 B., = Micali, *Storia*, 92, 7; *ibid.* 583 B.

<sup>3</sup> *Cat. of Vases in B. M.* i. no. 849.

<sup>4</sup> Jahn, *Vasens. Königs Ludwigs*, no. 18, see *ibid.*, Einleitung, p. cxvii., xcix.

<sup>5</sup> On the characteristics of this group, see Brunn, *Probleme in der Geschichte der Vasenmalerei*, § 12.

black, or a brown inclining to black, variegated with a red inclining to violet, and more sparingly with white, upon the pale yellow ground of the natural clay. Along with purely Asiatic elements of conventionalised animal and monster upon a flowered background, they early begin to exhibit figures from Greek mythology, often identified by inscriptions in a primitive Doric alphabet. In this part of his work the artist does not usually follow the conventional rigidity of Asiatic design, but tries, in a rude native way, to render for himself the appearances of life and movement.

The cup figured in Plate I. is one of those in which the Oriental elements have been almost entirely replaced by primitive Greek. On the foot of the cup is painted a rude profile (reproduced at the bottom of our plate) of Athenè, a goddess held in especial honour at Corinth, and figured constantly on the coins of the city. Its outer surface is covered, excepting the bands of ornament at top and bottom, with a frieze of figures, from the ground of which the Asiatic rosettes and petals have been banished, and which represents, with a rough vigour and sense of life totally foreign to Asiatic art, the story of the Arcadian Centaurs.<sup>1</sup>

The representation unites, as I have said, the subjects 2 *a* (the hospitality of Pholos) and 2 *b* (the battle), which are generally kept apart. Beginning under one handle (at the right of the two bands into which the frieze is divided in our illustration), comes the black projecting object which stands for the cave of Pholos, and from which are suspended what seem to be the bow and quiver of Herakles, besides a third object hard to recognise. Below stands the great *πίθος*, striped in red and white, and in advance of it an enigmatic object which may be a seat or table, though it rather resembles an altar with firewood. This is a very singular feature in the representation. If Cheiron were concerned, we might account for the altar by remembering that he was said in the *Titanomachia* to have instituted sacrifices as well as of other salutary practices and ordinances,

ἄρκους τ' ἢ δ' ἱλαρὰς θυσίας καὶ σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου.

<sup>1</sup> Of the vases yet known, that which offers the closest analogy to our present example is a small *skyphos* of similar form and fabric, with a similar distribution of ornament, and of the same

exceptional thinness, found at Argos, and representing, but with less spirit and movement, the story of Herakles and the Hydra. Pub. by Conze, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1859, pl. 125, 3, and p. 34.

But no such degree of civilization is attributed to Pholos, who is expressly described as an eater of raw meat; and we must probably attribute the altar, if altar it is, to the piety rather of Herakles than of his entertainer. Behind this object, and with his fore-limbs below the knee hidden by it, stands Pholos, with the human part of his body draped: in his left hand he holds a drinking-cup; his right is raised in deprecation at the rude interruption to his hospitality. In advance of him Herakles (figured in the manner of early art, without his cognizances of club and lion's hide) strides out against the foe. He is not using his bow, but hurling boughs or brands which we may suppose taken from the altar beside him; one of these is in either hand; a third flies through the air. This is at variance with the representation on the chest of Kypselos; there, according to Pausanias, Herakles was using his bow, as we see him in the early bronze relief figured below (fig. 1, p. 129) and on other vases; but it tallies with the account as preserved by Apollodoros; as does the overthrow, already achieved, of the foremost monster; and the whole scene might be fairly described in the words of Quintus Smyrnaeus:—

*καὶ ῥ' οἱ μὲν πεύκησι περὶ δμηθέντες ἔκειντο  
τὰς ἔχον ἐν χείρεσσι, μάχης ἄκος, οἱ δ' ἔτι μακρῆς  
δηριόωντ' ἐλάτησι μεμαότες, οὐδ' ἀπέληγον  
ὑσμίνης.*

The ten unscathed monsters (a larger number than is shown on any other vase) flee precipitately, brandishing their pine boughs. Four face round with some show of resistance; each runs with long steps of his human forelegs, the right leg advanced and the left thrown back, and drags after him his equine termination; in which, on the other hand, the expression of action is not attempted, but the two legs cling helplessly together. The whole system of legs, equine and human, form something like a regular interlacing pattern on the vase. Lastly, coming round to the point at which we started, and with their backs to the cave, stand the quaint little patron figures of Athenè and Hermes, the latter being identified by the herald's wand, and extending his arms in an attitude probably meant to signify sympathetic interest in the proceedings.

Besides affording the most comprehensive illustration of the

Pholos story yet known, and I think the most spirited example of primitive Greek figure-drawing which occurs on a vase of this age and fabric, the design before us is of no small interest in relation to what may be called the natural history of the Centaurs. The question has often been asked, Under what form and lineaments were these monsters originally imagined as existing? It is well known that in Greek art the familiar form of the complete horse, only with the trunk and head of a man substituted for its own neck and head, is a comparatively late invention, and that the Centaur of archaic art was, as we see him in this example, a complete man with the barrel and hinder parts of a horse clumsily attached to the middle of his back. This fact is expressly mentioned by Pausanias in connection with the figure of Cheiron on the chest of Kypselos,<sup>1</sup> and is confirmed by extant monuments. At the present day it is scarcely necessary to argue against one inference which has been drawn from the fact; the inference, namely, that the Centaurs were not originally imagined as monsters combined of man and horse at all, but simply as a kind of wild man of the woods; and that the idea of the man-horse was a later sophistication due to the ingenuity of painters and sculptors. The author of this view was Voss, who propounded it in his series of *Mythologische Briefe*, a work of much learning and much influence, directed against the theories of Heyne, who believed that all the gods of Greece had been originally horned, tailed, or otherwise monstrous.<sup>2</sup> All the arguments of Voss can in this instance be turned against himself. He urges that Homer says nothing of the horse-shape, but simply uses the word  $\phi\eta\rho = \theta\eta\rho$ , which is also used of Satyrs, and may therefore mean a wild man, and not necessarily a brute or half brute. Again, coupling the incomplete Centaur of archaic art with the genealogy of the creatures given in Pindar,<sup>3</sup> he infers that a man-centaur was the original, and a horse- or

<sup>1</sup> Paus. iii. 59, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Voss, J. H., *Mythologische Briefe*, vol. ii. Br. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 41, *sqq.* of Ixion and the cloud put in place of herself by Hêrê:—

ἄνευ οἱ Χαρίτων τέκεν γόνον ὑπερφίαλον  
μόνα καὶ μόνον, οὐτ' ἐν ἀν-  
δράσι γερασφόρον οὐτ' ἐν θεῶν νόμοις·  
τὸν ὑνύμαξε τράφοισα Κένταυρον. δς

Ἰπποισι Μαγνητίδεσσιν ἐμίγνυτ' ἐν Πα-  
λίου

σφυροῖς, ἐκ δ' ἐγένοντο στρατὸς  
θαυμαστὸς, ἀμφοτέρους  
ὁμοῖοι τοκεῦσι, τὰ ματρίθεν  
μὲν κάτω, τὰ δ' ὕπερθε πατρός.

The ordinary genealogy makes them spring direct from the embrace of Ixion and Nephelê, without the intervening savage sire, the eponymous Κένταυρος.

hippo-centaur only a derivative, creation of Greek mythology. Following up this idea, Böttiger made an elaborate attempt to prove that hippo-centaurs were essentially connected with the worship of Dionysos, and belonged to the Asiatic monstrosities made popular by the legend of that god.<sup>1</sup> A conclusive proof, however, that the notion of the Centaur is of Greek and not of Asiatic origin, is the fact that in no single instance (I think) does such a creature appear among the sphinxes and other monsters made up of man and beast which are part of the regular system of conventional ornaments on ware of the class now in question. But on this point we shall have more to say in connection with Plate III. Meantime it is enough to point out that *φῆρ* is probably used of Satyrs only because of their brutal appendages of goat's or horse's ears, tail, or hoofs: while the same word is used of Centaurs not only by Homer, but also by Pindar, who elsewhere expressly speaks of them as being men above and horses below, and in the *Odyssey* the line—

ἐξ οὗ Κενταύροισι καὶ ἀνδράσι νεῖκος ἐτύχθη<sup>2</sup>—

implies a distinct contrast between the nature of these monsters and of men. In the Homeric hymn to Hermes the four-footed nature of the Centaur is implied no less distinctly, when Apollo says of the reversed tracks of his herds,

βήματα δ' οὐτ' ἀνδρὸς τάδε γίγνεται οὔτε γυναικὸς,  
οὔτε λύκων πολιῶν οὐτ' ἄρκτων οὔτε λέοντων,  
οὔτε τι κένταυρον λασιαίχενα ἔλπομαι εἶναι,  
ὅστις τοῖα πέλωρα βιβᾶ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, the passages brought forward in support of the views of Voss and Böttiger are either corrupt or bear another meaning.<sup>4</sup> The peculiar genealogy of Pindar, then, instead of pointing to any change or development in the current idea of the creature, is doubtless simply an attempt to

<sup>1</sup> Böttiger, *Vasengemälde*, iii. 94, sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* xxi. 304.

<sup>3</sup> *Hom. Merc.* 221-5.

<sup>4</sup> The crucial passage was that in Kallistratos, *Stat.* 12, where he describes the statue of a Centaur as being οὐκ ἀνδρὶ, κατὰ τὴν Ὀμήρειον εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ θηρίῳ παραπλήσιον ὑλήεντι. This would hardly in any case bear the meaning forced upon it, that the

Centaur according to Homer had the figure of a man: and a convincing emendation of Niebuhr's gave the true meaning of the passage. For θηρίῳ read ῥίφι, and we have a direct quotation of the Homeric simile, τῆς Ὀμηρείου εἰκόνης, used in describing the Cyclops, *Od.* ix., 191—

οὐδὲ ἐφκει

ἀνδρὸς γε σιτοφάγῳ, ἐλλὰ ῥίφι ὑλήεντι.

account for its shape according to the idea already current. In like manner, the uncouth archaic mode of representing the creature is simply a consequence of the weakness of early art, which has not yet found the way to embody the idea better.

The more perfect mode is soon discovered. Monuments which it is impossible to date later than the sixth century B.C., notably the aforesaid François vase, and a fine series of reliefs from Assos at the Louvre,<sup>1</sup> already show the monsters galloping and fighting with the fore as well as the hinder legs of horses. Our own illustration (Plate I.) belongs to a more primitive stage, before the perfect Centaur had been invented. It would be rash to attempt to date it; according to the usual view concerning the antiquity of this class of ware, we might put it back as far as the eighth century B.C.; it can hardly be supposed later than the seventh. It has more of life and spirit, and less of Oriental stiffness, than the bronze relief lately discovered at Olympia,<sup>2</sup> which contains, along with a band of decorative birds, the same subject of Herakles and the Centaur (Fig. 1.), and also



FIG. 1.

that of the so-called Asiatic Artemis, a female figure with re-curved wings holding up a lion or a leopard in either hand; and which offers no doubt a near approximation to the style of such monuments as the chest of Kypselos and the Amyklaean throne.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. pl. 34. L. Ross, *Archäol. Aufsätze*, p. 105, note 1, by mistake says the contrary.

<sup>2</sup> See Curtius, *Das archaische Bronze-relief aus Olympia*, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> For this so-called Asiatic Artemis

on the chest of Kypselos, see Paus. v. 19, 1: "Ἀρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας ἔχουσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει πόρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα.

On the several plaques of two allied sets of very ancient embossed gold ornaments from Kameiros, we find as in the monuments last named, the so-called Persian Artemis brought into near relation with a primitive Centaur (see above, p. 123); if indeed the monster be in this case a Centaur at all; he has more resemblance to an Assyrian man-bull, being beardless, with stiff masses of hair on either side of his face, and hind legs and tail more like those of a bull than those of a horse.

To complete the reader's idea of the original Greek Centaur, I subjoin cuts of two characteristic early gems (Figs. 2, 3)



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

in the British Museum; of which one represents the monster in the act of hurling rocks, another in that of carrying off a woman.<sup>1</sup> The latter has this peculiarity, that the human forelegs terminate in feet which are not human, but those of horses—a kind of compromise or transition between the earliest and the improved Centaur, of which I only know one other example; viz., in a black-figured vase belonging to Class I., and representing a symmetrically arranged fight between two Centaurs and two Lapithae, at the Louvre. Other examples of the monster in his primitive shape, though not all of primitive date, are well known; and occur both in bronzes and in vases, especially in those found in the tombs of certain localities in Etruria.<sup>2</sup>

One feature in which our Corinth vase stands alone is in the indication of the shagginess of the monsters by straight incised

<sup>1</sup> Representations exactly analogous to this last, except that the monsters have human forelegs, occur in the rude coinage of Orreskioi, Zaielioi, and... maioi, towns in the Pangean mountains of Eastern Macedonia.

<sup>2</sup> See Ross, *Archäol. Aufsätze*, pl. vi. pp. 104-105; Müller-Wieseler,

*Denkmäler*, Nos. 590, 591, 592; the vase figured No. 591 is now in the British Museum. This and a few similar would seem to be of local Etruscan manufacture; they may therefore perhaps be taken as representing the peculiar Etruscan Centaur, *Marēs*, recorded by Aelian.

markings on their human foreparts, precisely analogous to those employed in mediæval art for the wild man, or man of the woods. These, together with their immense protruding beards, bring directly to the mind the expression of Homer, *φῆρας λαχνήεντας*. Or ought we rather to think of the *χορταῖος χιτῶν*, or tufted dress of grass, which was the costume of actors who played the parts of Seileni and the like in satyric plays;<sup>1</sup> and to suppose that our draughtsman had formed his notion of the scene after seeing it quaintly enacted by some primitive company of Dorian mummers, precursors of the comedy of Phormis and Epicharmos, who were dressed in costumes of this kind, and carried dummy halves of horses attached to them behind? Of the nature and antiquity of the various branches of Dorian pantomime and satyric show, Peloponnesian, Megarian, and Sicilian, we know too little to guide us in a conjecture of this kind.<sup>2</sup> Against it is the fact that those representations in which the *χορταῖος χιτῶν*, as the costume of a stage Seilenos or Papposeilenos, are distinctly to be recognised, belong to late periods of art;<sup>3</sup> while no indication of shagginess at all appears on the bodies of Centaurs in ordinary vase-paintings, whether archaic or other. And in the archaic period of vase-painting generally, it is certain that the scenes depicted are those made familiar by epic tale and lay rather than by any early form of stage representation. On the whole we shall probably do best to see in a design like that before us the independent attempt of the primitive draughtsman to realise for himself an incident of the universally familiar Herakles legend.

Plate II.—Pelous bringing the child Achilles to Cheiron.

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal. vii. 72; Pollux, iv. 118, 142; see Müller, *Archæol. d. Kunst*, § 386, 5; Preller, *Griech. Myth.* i. p. 578, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Bernhardt, *Grundr. der griech. Lit.* 2te Bearb., 2te Th. 2te Abth. pp. 451-471, and Müller, *Gesch. der Dorier*, iii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* incised drawing on a bronze helmet, Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* lv. 2, and Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* 579; marble group, *Mon. dell' Inst.* 1854, 81; vases, Jahn, *Vasenb.* pl. 1; Overbeck, *Heroisch. Bildw.* ii. 3; and especi-

ally two vases in the British Museum, of which one (Lenormant, *Él. céram.* ii. pl. 69) shows Marsyas in such a tufted garment playing the double pipes before Artemis and Apollo, and another (Coll. Castellani) a reclining woman with whom a Seilenos, or actor representing a Seilenos, plays the game of *κότταβος*, dancing the while in a manner precisely recalling the lines of Anakreon, xxxviii. 11:—

ἐγὼ γέρων μὲν εἰμι,  
Σειληνὸν δ' ἐν μέσοισι  
μιμούμενος χορεύσω.

Oenochoè; black figures on dark yellow ground. H., ctm. 29, diam., ctm. 16.

This vase, found at Vulci, and formerly in the Blacas collection, is now in the British Museum. It is of fine and precise workmanship, in a style of which the present state of our knowledge does not permit us to say positively whether it belongs to the really archaic or to the pseudo-archaic period of the manufacture. The latter seems indicated, however, by the character of the heads which decorate the attaches, both back and front, of the handle.<sup>1</sup> The representation does not essentially differ from others already known, except by its greater daintiness of execution. It resembles one of those above described after Overbeck, in that Thetis does not herself come upon the scene,<sup>2</sup> and another in that Achilles is not shown as a stripling on foot, but as a diminutive child seated with his knees tucked up in the arms, or rather between the open hands, of his father.<sup>3</sup> (So in Apollonios, *Argon.* i. 557, Chariklo the wife of Cheiron is made to carry the little Achilles ἐπωλέιον, when she goes down to the shore with her husband to wish the Argonauts a good voyage and to give Peleus a last look at his boy.) A conventional tree of very dainty design stands for the forests of Pelion; in front of it Cheiron's dog advances with his head and one forepaw raised inquiringly at the newcomers. Cheiron, wearing a chlamys down to his ankles, and slightly extending his right arm in welcome, carries over his shoulder with his left his customary weapon, a pine; from the branches of which, however, there are not suspended, as there are in most representations both of him and of Pholos, the bodies of hares, foxes, birds, or other small game; compare his qualification ἀγρότερος, fond of hunting, in Pindar; and see below, Fig. 4, p. 138. He is figured, as usual until about the fourth century B.C., under the old-fashioned semblance of a complete man, but with the hinder parts of a horse appended to his back.

And this brings us to another question which has been much debated:—What were the precise relations of the wise and

<sup>1</sup> Both in this particular and in the form of the ornament at the back of the vase, though not in colour nor in the shape of the spout, our example offers a somewhat close analogy to that

figured in Lau, *Die griech. Vasen*, &c., pl. xv. figs. 1, 1a, 1b.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Heroisch. Bildw.* p. 283, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 282, No. 1.

humane Centaur Cheiron, the trainer of heroes in all noble discipline, to his savage brethren, 'nefandis fratribus,' the incarnations of unteachable violence and lust? A very distinguished scholar, F. G. Welcker, still partly under the influence of the theories of Voss, wrote in 1831 to prove that, whatever may have been the case as to the other Centaurs, the heroic Cheiron cannot possibly have been originally conceived under the degraded form of a demi-brute made up of man and horse.<sup>1</sup> Welcker, in 1850, saw reason to modify this opinion; but the precise nature of the relation between Cheiron and the rest of his tribe has never, I think, been satisfactorily set forth. Let us briefly examine it, taking first the literary and then the archaeological evidences.

That Cheiron, then, was a Centaur like the rest the ancient writers imply with one consent, and without hint of any difference between him and them except two: first, the difference in mind and temper, and second, a difference, not quite unanimously stated, of birth and parentage. Homer simply calls him "the justest of the Centaurs," *δικαιότατος Κενταύρων*.<sup>2</sup> Pindar at the same time includes him in the tribe, and asserts his different descent, by calling him *Κρονίδας Κένταυρος*,<sup>3</sup> a Centaur, but a son of Kronos, and not, like the rest, a child or grandchild of Ixion and Nephelè. The same difference and the same identity are again asserted by Pindar when, in speaking of Cheiron, he uses the Homeric word *φῆρ* = *θήρ*, a brute, and in the same breath calls him the son of Kronos and of the nymph Philyra, and a friend of man:—

ἤθελον Χείρωνά τε Φιλυρίδαν  
 \*                      \*                      \*                      \*  
 ζῶειν τὸν ἀποιχόμενον  
 Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου  
 Βάσσαισί τ' ἄρχειν Παλίου φῆρ' ἀγρότερον  
 νοῦν ἔχοντ' ἀνδρῶν φίλον.<sup>4</sup>

The same account is followed by most, though not quite by all, the other ancient writers who mention the generation of

<sup>1</sup> Welcker, *Kl. Schriften*, Th. iii., zu den *Alterthümern der Heilkunde*, 1, *Cheiron der Philyride*, and *Id.*, *Der epische Cyclus*, ii. p. 410, sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xi. 832.

<sup>3</sup> Pind. *Nem.* iii. 47; comp. *Pyth.* iv. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* iii. *ad. init.*; and compare iv. 119, *Φῆρ δέ με θεῖος Ἰάσωνα κικλήσκων προσηύδα*.

Cheiron.<sup>1</sup> In giving it, we are told, 'the author of the *Gigantomachia*' added that the visit of Kronos to Philyra was paid in the form of a horse.<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful what can be the poem here alluded to. The battle of gods and giants on the Phlegraean plain seems to have been unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and to have formed the subject of no early epic composition. The first extant allusion to it is in Pindar.<sup>3</sup> It has been conjectured that the reference should rightly be, not to a *Gigantomachia*, but to the *Titanomachia* of Arktinos or Eumelos. In that case, it would be established that the early epic poets thought of Cheiron as a half-horse like the rest; otherwise the attribution of a horse shape to his sire would have no meaning. The story was certainly told in this form by the logographer Pherekydes, whose date is somewhat uncertain, but who was probably a contemporary and survivor of Pindar.<sup>4</sup> The intervention of Kronos in the form of a horse in the generation of Cheiron is quite analogous to Pindar's own detail concerning the intervention of the Magnesians in the generation of the Centaurs. Both have been taken as indicating the gradual working out, within historical times, of the notion of the man-horse in the Greek mind. Both should rather be taken as inventions of the poets to account for a notion which had been current from the first.<sup>5</sup> The story of Kronos and Philyra is told in full by Apollonios, who explicitly describes Cheiron as being, in consequence of his parentage,

ἄλλα μὲν ἵππω  
ἄλλα θεῶ ἀτάλαντον.<sup>6</sup>

So in Ovid, he is explicitly

'semiur, et flauī corpore mixtus equi.'

<sup>1</sup> See Weleker, *Kl. Schriften*, Th. iii. p. 5, note 13.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. ad Apollon. i. 554. The same commentator says, in the same connection, that Suidas, ἐν τοῖς Θεεταλικοῖς, represented Cheiron as a son of Ixion like the other Centaurs.

<sup>3</sup> Pind. *Nem.* i. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Pherek. fr. ed. Sturtz, 33.

<sup>5</sup> This is, indeed, the natural interpretation of the often-quoted words of Galen, when he says that Pindar was quite right as a poet in adopting the

popular myth of the Centaurs, but quite wrong in attempting to improve upon it by explanatory additions. Πίνδαρος δ' εἰ μὲν ὡς ποιητῆς προσέεται τὸ τῶν Κενταύρων μυθολόγημα συγχωρητέον αὐτῷ, εἰ δ' ὡς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τι περὶ ττοτερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι προσποιούμενος ἐτόλμα γράφειν (here is quoted Pyth. iv. 45, sqq.) ἐπιτιμητέον αὐτῷ τῇ προσποιήσει τῆς σοφίας. *De us. part.* iii.

<sup>6</sup> *Argon.* ii. 1231-1243 and in like manner Verg. *Georg.* iii. 92; Ov. *Metam.* vi. 126.

Cheiron, then, as to his physical configuration, was imagined according to our evidences to be a man-horse like the rest: only that his countenance was naturally conceived as noble instead of debased. As to his habits, he lived with the rest on Mount Pelion, and was in some sort their master; Pindar speaks of his 'ruling in the glades of Pelion.' He was thought of as leading the rest to festivity, as at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis,<sup>1</sup> or to a righteous attack on fraudulent men, as in the invocation against dishonest potters of the pseudo-Homeric Κάμινος.<sup>2</sup> He is the hunter of the tribe *par excellence*. But he takes no part in their brawls and blood-shedding; and sometimes he can baffle if he cannot correct the ferocious propensities of his tribe; as when he helps Peleus to defend himself against them by finding for him the sword which his enemies have put away from him during his sleep.<sup>3</sup> According to the common account, he shares in the general flight of his race from Thessaly to the Peloponnesos, and there perishes in the same slaughter that overtook the rest at the hands of Herakles. On the other hand, while the rest of his tribe are the terror of mortal women, Cheiron is domesticated in his cave with his mother Philyra, his wife Chariklo,<sup>4</sup> and his daughter Endeïs, all three of them nymphs. Endeïs was by Aiakos the mother of Peleus, so that Cheiron was not only the teacher but the ancestor of that hero and of Achilles. This account was, however, derived by some, who called Endeïs the daughter not of the Centaur Cheiron, but of the robber Skeiron<sup>5</sup>; but in any case a historical clan, exercising the practice of medicine, called themselves Cheironidai, and claimed lineal descent from the 'divine monster.' Once given the idea of a civilised Centaur side by side with the rest, and these relations with mankind seem to flow naturally from it.

As to the mythologic signification of his descent from Kronos and Philyra—to be descended from Kronos means, of course, no more than to be an object of ancient and immemorial tradition in the land. The nymph Philyra, sometimes spoken of as a Naïd or Okeanid, is in all probability the nymph of a healing tree, the linden or lime. Welcker, finding the form and pronunciation Φιλυρίδης, Phillyrides, adopted for the sake of

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 1058 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. *Kam.* 17.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. iii. 13, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 102.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Paus. ii. 29, 7.

metrical convenience in several Greek and Latin authors,<sup>1</sup> strangely supposed that  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha = \phi\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$ , and remembering the frequent use of  $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ,  $\eta\pi\iota\alpha \phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ,  $\nu\acute{\omicron}\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha \phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ , and the like, for healing herbs, proposed to regard Philyra as personifying the virtues of such herbs in general. But the name Philyra itself, whether in Greek or Latin, as well as the alternative Latin form of the metronymic, Philyreus, has the first syllable short;<sup>2</sup> and it is most natural to suppose that the mother of Cheiron thus named is the nymph of the tree  $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha = \text{tilia} = \text{linden}$  (compare the fable of Hyginus, in which she is said to have been transformed into such a tree), just as the mother of Pholos is said to have been the nymph of the tree  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha$ . As to the bearing of this parentage upon the character of Cheiron as the father of medicine and teacher of Asklepios, I do not find in the ancient medical or botanical writers that any special virtues are attributed to this tree. But it is an interesting fact, for the communication of which I am indebted to M. Gennadius, that in modern Greece a sudorific potion much in use among the common people happens to consist of a decoction or *tisane* of the leaves and flowers of the lime; which grows abundantly in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Bulgaria, and also in parts of Greece proper, where it is usually called  $\phi\lambda\alpha\mu\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ , but in some districts of the Peloponnese still  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$ .<sup>3</sup> It is possible that in this popular custom we may have the survival of a traditional belief in the virtues of the lime, which, although not recorded by ancient literature, caused the nymph of that tree to be chosen by the imagination of the early Greeks as the mother of Cheiron.

Turning now to the representations of Cheiron on ancient vases, we find that there is, down to a certain period in the history of the art, a distinction made between him and the other Centaurs. We have seen in what clumsy shape the primitive efforts of graphic art embodied the mythic idea of the man-horse (Pl. I. and Figs. 1, 2, 3). And we have seen that in monuments as early as the Assos reliefs and the François vase

<sup>1</sup> *c.g.* Hes. *Theog.* 1001; Pind. 43; Apollonios, ii. 1233; Verg. *Georg. Pyth.* iii. 1, ix. 30; Apollonios, i. 554; iii. 92; Val. Flacc. v. 153; Ov. Verg. *Georg.* iii. 550; Propert. ii. 1, 60. *Metam.* ii. 676, vii. 352.

<sup>2</sup> *c.g.* Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 103, *Nem.* iii. <sup>3</sup> See also Koch, *Die Bäume und Sträucher Griechenlands*, p. 234.

this helpless monster, with the forelegs of a man, is already replaced by an improved monster with the forelegs of a horse. Replaced, that is, in the case of Centaurs in general, but not yet in the case of Cheiron. In the François vase itself, where the Centaurs engaged against the Lapithæ are of the improved kind, enough is left of the defaced figure of Cheiron to make it certain that his lower fore-limbs are still, on the other hand, those of a man. This is the rule during all the early phases of the art, at least down to the end of the fifth century B.C. While the vases, real or imitative, of the black-figured or archaic style which we suppose to be characteristic of the period about Ol. 70-80 habitually show the developed type of Centaur alike in subjects 1, the battle with the Lapithæ; 2, the rout at the cave of Pholos; and 3, the chastisement of Nessos or Eurytion, —in subjects 4, the winning or wedding of Thetis, and 5, the reception of Achilles at the Pelethronian cave, the same class of vases invariably show the undeveloped form. While the general horde of Centaurs, both Thessalian and Arcadian, including Pholos himself, have become horses with only the heads and chests of men, Cheiron is a draped philosopher encumbered with half a horse *a tergo*. In his case, then, the vase-painters are exceptionally conservative. They are unwilling, it seems, to increase his activity at the expense of his humanity. Instead of changing his primitive configuration, they retain it, draped in the manner of our illustration. This is the case even in an example of the Free or red-figured style like that lately acquired for the Museum of the Louvre, and shown in a reduced form in the woodcut on the next page (Fig. 4), an example which cannot well be of earlier date than the end of the fifth century B.C. I do not, indeed, know of any instance yet discovered in which the developed form is adopted for Cheiron in this particular subject. In the subject of the wrestling-match of Peleus and Thetis, it is only adopted in vases of the rich style belonging probably to the third or even second century B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Among artists whose works have come down to us, the early vase-painters of the fifth century, or those who imitated their manner, are alone in treating Cheiron in the manner we have seen. In all other and later forms of art where Cheiron appears

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Overbeck, *Heroisch. Bildw.* pl. vii. fig. 8, and viii. fig. 5.



FIG. 4.

as in the mural paintings, gems, and sarcophagi where he is figured as the instructor of Achilles, or in those works where he is represented translated after death to the skies and appearing as the sign of a constellation, or in those, like the well-known Byzantine manuscript of Dioskorides at Vienna, where he figures as the father and instructor of physicians,—in all these alike he is regularly designed in the complete likeness of a developed man-horse. It is possible that the late poet Nonnos may furnish evidence of some exceptional treatment of him on the part of artists of a higher class (in his time, probably, the painted vases of the ancient Greeks were all buried away in tombs), when he writes

ἵππιον εἶδος ἔχοντι Φόλω συνομάρτεε Χείρων  
ἀλλοφυῆς ἀδάμαστος ἔχων ἀχάλινον ὑπήνην.<sup>1</sup>

The last words no doubt only refer to the point that Cheiron was not, like other Centaurs, harnessed and bridled to the car of Bacchus; but ἀλλοφυῆς must indicate some difference of structure or appearance between him and the rest. But Nonnos in his *Dionysiaka* so completely departs from all the known traditions of earlier antiquity concerning these monsters, and so confuses the matter with Asiatic fancies and subtleties, that there is little to the purpose to be learnt from him. The words ἀνθρώπων ὅμοιος used of Cheiron by Philostratos<sup>2</sup> in all probability refer to his disposition only, and not to his bodily structure.

Plate III.—Iris surrounded and assaulted by Centaurs. Portion of what must have been a composition of many figures, contained on the fragments of a large *skyphos* formerly in the Campana collection, and now in the Etruscan Museum at Florence.<sup>3</sup> Red figures on pale black ground. The markings of the muscles and folds of drapery traced in a darker red: very free, bold, but at the same time accurate drawing, which by the violence of the action depicted might suggest the Alexandrian age, but, by the types both of Centaurs and Iris, has more resemblance to work of the fifth century. Probably not much later than 400 B.C.

Iris, holding the herald's staff (κηρύκειον) in her right hand, and wearing a chiton and peplos, with her accustomed head-dress, the κεκρύφαλον, and rings in her ears, flies with out-

<sup>1</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* xiv. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Philostr., *Heroic.* 9.

<sup>3</sup> Desc. by Heydemann, *Mittheil-*

*ungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittel-Italien*, p. 84, no. 5.

spread wings from left to right. In her flight she is surrounded by three Centaurs of Satyric type, with spotted leopard-skins tied by the claws round their throats and flying from their shoulders. One of these grasps her right fore-arm with his right hand, and the back of her neck and coif with his left; another has laid his right hand on her shoulder and extends his left to her breast; a third farther off seems to shout with his head thrown back, and flings his left arm up and his right behind him. The rear parts only are seen of a fourth, who moves away from this group with his tail whisking and his leopard skin flying. Above him appears the branch of a tree. Iris with an air of dignity turns her head in the opposite direction from her flight, and endeavours to escape by pushing out her elbows against her assailants; her left elbow and hand are concealed in the folds of her peplos.

Ancient literature contains no authority for any such story of the Centaurs and Iris as is here embodied. To be ravishers was an essential part of their savage nature; as such they appear on coins like those of Orreskioi, and in gems like that shown in Fig. 3; and besides the regular legends of the Thessalian Eurytion and Deidameia—of the Aetolian Nessos and Deianeira—of the Eleio-Arcadian Eurytion and Mnesymachè, or Homados and Halkyonè—we have another Arcadian story, how the Centaurs Rhoikos and Hylaios assaulted the huntress Atalantè, and were by her put to flight and slain.<sup>1</sup> But we have no story about the monsters and Iris. Such a story, however, may very naturally have existed. The messenger of the gods is, as we have seen, closely associated with Cheiron in the representation on the François-vase, where she marches beside him to the marriage-solemnity of Peleus and Thetis. It is true that her presence is not mentioned in those extant passages where, if it was a constant part of the tradition, we should expect to find it; as in the beautiful but corrupt chorus of the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* which tells of the dancing, at the feast on 'Centaurs' mountain,' of the golden-sandalled Pierides and the fifty daughters of Nereus; of the ministrations of Ganymedes; the prophecies of Cheiron; and other details of the solemnity.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, when

<sup>1</sup> Apollod. iii. 9, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 1036-1080.

Pindar makes Themis, after counselling the gods to give Thetis in marriage to Peleus, say—

ἰόντων δ' ἐς ἄφθιτον ἄντρον εὐθὺς  
Χείρωνος ἀγγελίαι,<sup>1</sup>

we may suppose as matter of course that Iris would be the messenger chosen to bear the behest. With this clue, and that furnished by the François-vase together, to the presence of Iris on the *Κενταύρων ὄρος*, we may well infer that there existed a story of her having been subject to rudeness at the hands of the horde. The incident is exactly such an one as the writers of comedy would have delighted to work out; and comedies on the story of Cheiron, we know, were numerous.<sup>2</sup>

But, in the absence of positive evidence to this effect, there is another and perhaps safer way of accounting for the scene depicted on our vase: thus. There happen to be three vases known in which Iris is represented in an attitude and predicament precisely similar to this, only that her assailants are not Centaurs, but Satyrs. Two of these have been long familiar to students, but their explanation was not perfectly free from doubt until the discovery of the third. In each the winged female figure with the caduceus is surrounded by Satyrs in a state of boisterous importunity; but it was open to doubt whether this figure was necessarily Iris, or whether she might not rather be *Εἰρήνη*, Peace (who is known to share the same attributes), or *Ῥεῖα*, Plenty; in which case the gestures of the Satyrs might be understood as those, not of violence, but of riotous homage and welcome.<sup>3</sup> The question, however, was settled by the discovery

<sup>1</sup> Pind. *Isthm.* viii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Separate comedies on this theme were, according to Athenaeus, attributed to Epicharmos (*Deipn.* xiv. 648d), to Pherekrates or Nikomachos (*Ib.* viii. 364a, ix. 368a, b), and to Kratinos the younger (*Ib.* xi. 460f). An instance of an unrecorded Cheiron adventure being copied by vase-painting from the stage is obviously furnished by the well-known vase in the British Museum (Lenormant and De Witte, *El. céram.* ii. pl. xciv. p. 306, *sqq.*), in which Apollo figures as a quack doctor, to whose stage there mounts a blind Cheiron,

represented by two actors, of whom the hindmost grotesquely shoves the foremost up the ladder; all the personages alike wearing comic masks of the broadest description. Comic masks are also given to the Centaurs and to their driver in that (I believe) unique vase at the Louvre, which represents a team of four of them harnessed abreast to a car.

<sup>3</sup> See Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, iii. pl. xvi. 1, 2, and p. 243, *sqq.*, where that author gives a full exposition both of his own view and of those of previous inquirers.

of a more elaborate and less ambiguous design of a similar subject on a vase bearing the signature of a well-known master, Brygos, which has passed with the Castellani collection into the British Museum. Here Iris, as well as her assailants, are designated by name.<sup>1</sup> The scene naturally suggests that passage in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes where Iris appears with a message from Zeus, and is challenged and coarsely threatened by Peithetairos.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that this scene itself was a travesty of similar scenes already familiar on the stage. We know that, according to a scholiast on the passage where it occurs, Iris had been brought on the stage in one of the satyric plays of Sophokles, the *Inachos*. We know also that the poet Achaïos wrote a separate satyric drama, to which the same personage, Iris, gave its name.<sup>3</sup> Putting these indications together with the passage of Aristophanes, and these together with the design of the contemporary, or nearly contemporary vase-painter, Brygos,<sup>4</sup> we may conclude with certainty that the mobbing of Iris was a subject familiar at that time both in the satyric and the comic drama of Athens. By the time that Centaurs were getting to be gradually associated as a matter of course with Satyrs, and incorporated in the regular following of Dionysos, it would be natural that a scene, originally introduced on the stage, and from thence into graphic art, with Satyrs for its actors, should be freely imitated by a vase-decorator with Centaurs in the same character. This, if we are to forego the hypothesis of an unrecorded Iris incident in the Pelion legend, is what we must suppose to have happened in the case before us.<sup>5</sup>

And this brings us to another vexed question—To what extent was the fable of the Centaurs originally connected with the worship of Dionysos, and in what sense may these monsters be held, like the Satyrs, to have belonged to his proper following?

<sup>1</sup> See Matz in *Ann. dell' Inst.* vol. xliv. 1872, p. 294 *sqq.*, and *Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. pl. 46; also Urlichs, *Der Vasenmaler Brygos* (Würzburg 1875), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. *Nub.* 1190–1261.

<sup>3</sup> Nauck, *Trag. Frag.* 582.

<sup>4</sup> The date of Brygos has been much discussed, and particularly, on grounds

both of art and epigraphy, by Urlichs, *op. cit.*, who agrees with Matz in deciding for the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth, about Ol. 90–100.

<sup>5</sup> This seems to be the view of Heydemann in his short description, *loc. cit.*

That Satyrs and Centaurs were creatures closely allied and almost interchangeable, that the last, like the first, were essentially satellites of Bacchus, has been by many writers assumed as self-evident.<sup>1</sup> Such writers have been misled, partly by the mythological confusions and aberrations of Nonnos, and partly, and naturally, by the evidences of later art. It is perfectly true that Nonnos, if his evidence were worth anything, countenances this view. He only in one allusion recognizes the constant earlier tradition of the descent of the monsters from Nephelè, the cloud substituted by Hera for herself in the embrace of Ixion.<sup>2</sup> According to him, the race of hippocentaurs was generated by Zeus from the soil of Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> And he describes voluminously another race whom he calls Centaurs also, sons of the Hyades, who had been guardians of the infancy of Bacchus, and who had worn human shape until the jealousy of Hera endowed them with horns, manes, tusks, and the tails (not the bodies) of horses. These he calls the man-shaped Centaurs—

ἀνδροφυῆς δ' ἑτέρη Κενταυρίας ἵκετο φύτλη·

the other kind, the twy-shaped—

Κενταύρων δ' ἑτέρη διφυῆς κεκόρυστο γενέθλη.<sup>4</sup>

According to Nonnos both these kinds of creatures are horned, and both are the regular servants and attendants of Bacchus, forming part of his *thiasos*, and following him in war and revelry. It is also true in the late ages of Greek and Graeco-Roman art Centaurs (and Centaureses, a kind of creature which seems to have been first imagined by the painter Zeuxis) are habitually represented drawing the chariot of Bacchus and Ariadne, attending the god upon his expeditions, fighting against his enemies, or sporting with the Satyrs and Maenads of his rout. Such representations abound on the wall-paintings of the Campanian cities, on gems, on coins, on silver drinking-vessels,<sup>5</sup> and on the reliefs of sarcophagi (on these

<sup>1</sup> Even K. O. Müller, *Archäol. der Kunst*, § 389, classes the Centaurs with Satyrs, Panes, and Maenads, among the *thiasos* of Bacchus. Preller, *Gr. Mythol.* ii. 14, *sqq.*, is better advised in dissociating them from this connection and grouping them among the mythologic enemies of the heroes.

<sup>2</sup> Nonn. *Dion.* xvi. 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 611–615; xiv. 193–202; xxxii. 71, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 143–193.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. two fine examples in the *Trésor de Bernay* at the *Bibliothèque Nat.* in Paris and another in the *Antiquarium*, Munich.

most commonly of all), in the Roman age; one such occurs on the frieze of a great temple, that of Teos in Ionia, belonging to the same age. It is no part of my present purpose to collect or compare illustrations of so patent and familiar an archaeological fact.

But going back to early times, we shall find that there seems to exist no such habitual connection, but at most an irregular and incidental contact, between the Centaurs and the Dionysiac cycle. This is especially the case with reference to the Thesalian, which is unquestionably the oldest, branch of the myth. To take literary traditions first: Homer, with whom, as is well known, Dionysos and his cycle play very little part, gives no hint of such connection; neither does Pindar. And in this matter the early Greek drama seems to have agreed with the early epic and lyric poetry. That in the days of the infant drama Centaurs and heroes were thought of together, and that neither one nor the other seemed to the popular mind to have anything to do with Bacchus, we have proof in the familiar story of the origin of the proverb, οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον. The country folk had been accustomed at the feasts of Bacchus to a dithyramb sung by a chorus in honour of the god; when innovating poets tried to introduce such matters as 'Ajaxes and Centaurs' they would not have them, saying these had nothing to do with Dionysos.<sup>1</sup> The language of Euripides in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* seems, indeed, already to indicate the beginning of that association which afterwards became so close. The Centaurs at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis he calls a *thiasos*, and it is to quaff the 'cup of Bacchus' that they assemble:—

ἀνὰ δ' ἐλάταισι στεφανώδει τε χλόα  
θίαςος ἔμολεν ἵπποβάτας  
Κενταύρων ἐπὶ δαῖτα τὰν  
θεῶν κρατῆρά τε Βάκχου.<sup>2</sup>

But this is the first indication of the kind with which I am acquainted. That the Centaurs are from the first conceived as unable to resist the taste or smell of wine, and that their history turns upon this trait, is quite true; but the same note

<sup>1</sup> Didymus ap. Casaub. *de Saf. Græc.* read *Γίγαντας* for *Αἰάντας*.  
*Poes.* i. 1, 23. Böttiger proposes to <sup>2</sup> *Iph. in Aul.* 1058.

of a savage nature is equally characteristic of Cyclops and other creatures not specifically Bacchic. Between the Arcadian branch of the myth, with Herakles for its chief actor, and the Dionysiac cycle, there is, as we should expect, more connection; though it so happens that our witnesses on the point are all of a late date. We cannot tell what is the antiquity of the genealogy of Pholos given by Apollodoros, a genealogy evidently modelled upon that of Cheiron, and representing him as the son of a tree-nymph, Melia, and of Seilenos, a divinity early included in the Bacchanalian cycle. It is not, at least in an extant literature, until the time of Theokritos that we find Dionysos specifically connected with the Centaurs as the giver to the tribe of the store of wine of which Pholos had charge.<sup>1</sup> Diodoros, indeed, seems to claim an immemorial antiquity for this part of the tradition, when he says that the store had lain for many years awaiting the arrival of Herakles before he came.

The negative evidences of archaeology on the point are more decisive than those of literature. Early art knows nothing of any association of Centaurs either with Bacchus, or with the Satyrs, Seilenoi, and Maenads of his train. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the forms in which Satyrs and Centaurs are represented have at first an undeniably near resemblance. The usual Satyr is a prick-eared, snub-nosed man, bush-bearded, and sometimes bald-crowned, with a horse's tail springing from the middle of his back. The primitive Centaur, as we have seen, is no more than a bush-bearded man, frequently also bald-crowned, prick-eared, and snub-nosed, from the middle of whose back there protrudes not merely the tail, but the whole body of a horse. The resemblance cannot be realised in a more pointed form than by comparing the ugly monster on the archaic gem figured on the next page (Fig. 5) with the other ugly monsters represented on the gems of analogous workmanship above given (Figs. 2, 3). A similarly close correspondence between Satyr and Centaur presents itself on the coins of Letè and Oreskioi. Even after the Centaur has

<sup>1</sup> Theokr. *Idyl.* vii., 147. The scholiast on this passage says the gift was a reward to Pholos for adjudging in favour of Dionysos a quarrel between him and Hephaistos for the island of

Naxos. Preller suggests that this account may be due to Stesichoros, who is known to have written (see Schol. *Il.* xxiii. 92) on the Naxian legends of Dionysos and Hephaistos.

received his complete equine body, the snub-nose, the bushy hair and beard, and generally, though not always, the ears pointed now like a horse's and now like a goat's, are kept up in order to maintain his character below the human; and these points continue to give him a physical affinity to the Satyr.



FIG. 5.

The same affinity seems again asserted when, as in the often-mentioned vase of Class I. in the British Museum (No. 1266), a combatant Centaur wears the Bacchic ivy wreath. It may be further attested by the habit which is common to both kinds of creatures, of wearing the skins of lions or panthers about their shoulders; though this peculiarity of the Centaurs may also be explained, as we have seen, simply by their hunting propensities.

On the other hand, the names attributed to the two kinds of creature seem to betoken a radical difference of character between them. Into the names of Centaurs we will inquire directly; those of Satyrs are almost exclusively names of laughter (Γέλως, Σκώψ, Εὔδαιμος), of song (Ἡδυμελής, Εὐμέλ-πης), or of drink (Οἶνος, Ἡδύοινος, Οἶνοπίων). What is most significant is that Satyrs and Centaurs are never, in early art, found together. Bacchus and his crew do not appear (with the one exception to be noted immediately) in any of the regular Centaur subjects which we have enumerated. On the other hand, no class of representations are so common in vase-painting, and especially in vase-painting of the black-figured and early red-figured kind, as representations from the Bacchanalian cycle; and in these again Centaurs are never mixed up with their horse-tailed cousins, the Satyrs. It is not until quite the decline of the art, the popular and conservative art as we have called it, of vase-painting, that the first signs appear of that fusion of the characters and habits

of the two races under the common leadership of Bacchus, which became universal afterwards. The representation on Plate III., if we are to adopt for it the second of our two proposed interpretations, must be regarded as an instance of the approaching change. The other instances of it which exist, and which would constitute with the above the Class 7 of our enumeration, might almost be counted on the fingers. There is, I think, only one vase in the whole collection at the British Museum which shows Satyrs and Centaurs together: a small *kyathos*, rudely painted in imitation of the archaic style;<sup>1</sup> in front is Pholos pushing the white lid from the *πίθος*; on either side a symbolic eye, and between either eye and the handle a startled Satyr. Munich, again, has only one example of the same collocation, and that is a still ruder imitation of early work, in which a Satyr hops in pursuit of two retreating Centaurs.<sup>2</sup> Among the vases of Sir William Hamilton was one in which a Centaur was represented carrying in his right hand a Bacchanalian torch, and in his left a shallow cup, while his left arm supported a three-branched bough, apparently of laurel, from one branch of which hung a ribbon, from another a picture, and from the third a bird; while close in front of the Centaur, and looking round to him, marched a diminutive thyrsos-bearing Satyr.<sup>3</sup> To frame anything like a complete list of the class would be difficult, inasmuch as, being mostly of insignificant workmanship, they are not figured in illustrated works, and their existence can only be ascertained when they belong to collections that have been fully catalogued.

Our three plates, then, have respectively opened up three questions: Plate I., what was the earliest form of the Centaur? Plate II., what was the relation of Cheiron to the rest of his tribe? and Plate III., what was the relation of the tribe in general to Bacchus and his train? In the observations I have offered on the above questions I have been at pains simply to take the evidence of texts and monuments as we find it, and not to regard any point as determined *à priori* by a theory concerning the origin, derivation, and mythological significance of the

<sup>1</sup> Of the form (Jahn, *Vasens. Königs Ludwigs*, 18), illustrated by Lau, pl. xix. 1. *Cat. of Vases in Brit. Mus.*, vol. i. No. 661.

<sup>2</sup> Jahn, *op. cit.*, No. 957.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton, *Vases Etrusques*, vol. i. pl. 41.

monsters. But, in order both to test our results and to complete them, it seems necessary to recall the principal explanations of the myth which have been at various times adopted; the more so, as there are some explanations still surviving from pre-philological days which it is high time to dismiss altogether, and one which, on the other hand, agrees far better than the rest with the evidences and with probability.

1. Κένταυροι ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντεῖν (or κεντᾶν) ταύρους. This is the oldest, and has been the most persistent, of the false etymologies of our monsters. It involves two theories: first, that the name Centaur is a name signifying piercer or spearer of bulls; second, that the tribe of primitive hunters, to whom that name was given from their skill, were also the inventors of riding, and hence regarded by populations ignorant of that art as a new kind of animal made up of man and horse. The prevailing ancient view about riding was that the first race of riders known to the Greeks had been the Amazons; but there are also passages connecting the invention with Thessaly (a country in historical times famous for its horses), and specifically either with a tribe of men called Centauri, or with their cousins the Lapithae. Thus Diodoros, Pliny, and Vergil.<sup>1</sup> Pliny makes Bellerophon the first inventor of riding, but says that the bridling and housings of horses were the inventions of Pelethronius (an eponymous hero of whom we do not hear elsewhere), while the Centaurs were those who first found out how to *fight* on horseback. Somewhat differently Vergil:

‘primus Erichthonius currus et quattuor ausus  
iungere equos, rapidusque rotis insistere uictor.  
frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere  
inpositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis  
insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.’

Whereto Servius: ‘Pelethronium oppidum est Thessaliae ubi primum domandorum equorum repertus est usus. Nam cum quidam Thessalus rex bobus oestro exagitatis satellites suos ad eos reuocandos ire iussisset, illique cursu non sufficerent, ascenderunt equos, et eorum uelocitate boves secuti eos stimulis ad tecta reuocarunt. Sed hi uisi, aut cum irent uelociter, aut

<sup>1</sup> Diod. iv. 70; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 202; Verg. *Georg.* iii. 113.

cum eorum equi circa flumen Peneon potarent capitibus inclinatis locum fabulae dederunt: ut Centauri esse crederentur. Qui dicti sunt Centauri ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντᾶν τοὺς ταύρους.' In the above they are merely mounted cattle-drivers, but according to Eustathius more explicitly hunters. Eust. *ad Il.* p. 527, ἵπποκένταυρος, ὁ κεντῶν δηλαδὴ ταύρους κυνηγετικῶς: and *Smyrna* p. 102, δῆλον ὅτι Κένταυροι μὲν ἐκλήθησαν διότι τάνους κατεκέντησαν ἐνομίσθησαν δὲ σύνθετοι ἐξ ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν διότι ἄρματίζειν ἀφέντες κελητίζειν ἐπιτηδένσαντο ἡγοῦν ἀξεύκτοις ἵπποις ἐποχείσθαι. And to the same effect the scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* 78. The author who has most completely worked out this rationalising view is the supposed Palaephatus<sup>1</sup>; according to his account Nephelè was a hill town of Thessaly, and when the neighbouring plains, inhabited by the Lapithae, were overrun with wild herds, Peirithoos their king invited the young men of Nephelè to destroy them, who for that purpose caught and tamed horses, but presently turned their skill against their employers, harrying their homesteads and carrying off their women in nightly raids.

A view nearly akin to this was in modern times re-established on the high authority of Boeckh, who, with an approving 'non indocte' for the fancies of Palaephatus, goes on to quote Pliny and Suetonius<sup>2</sup> to prove that the sport of bull-fighting from horseback had been invented by the Thessalians, and by them first exhibited before the Roman Caesars; adding evidence from other authorities to show that Larissa was a principal seat of the sport; that it survived in Thessaly until the time of Theodosios; and that it had been transplanted to Smyrna, where it flourished under the name of the ταυροκαθάψια, concerning which festival there is a well-known inscription among the Arundel marbles at Oxford.<sup>3</sup> Compare the allusion of an earlier age to the customs of the Thessalians in Euripides, *Electra*, 815, *sqq.*

ἐκ τῶν καλῶν κομποῦσι τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖς  
εἶναι τόδ' ὅστις ταῦρον ἄρταμεῖ καλῶς,  
ἵππους τ' ὀχμάζει.

The same general view had been adopted by C. A. Böttiger, who held the Centaurs of Greek mythology to have arisen by a kind

<sup>1</sup> Palaeph. *de Incred.*

<sup>3</sup> Boeckh, *Pind.*, vol. ii., pt. i., p.

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 45; Suet. 319, note 2 *ad Schol. Pyth.* 78. *Claud.* 21.

of fusion of the idea of these Thessalian cattle-drivers with ideas of monstrous combinations of man and beast imported from Asia with the worship of Bacchus.

As thus apparently fortified, the derivation was unhesitatingly accepted by writers like Stackelberg and even K. O. Müller, and (in so far as he to the last regarded the Centaur story as a mythic commemoration of the invention of riding) by Welcker.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless it is a derivation which archaeology as well as etymology, and, I venture to think, common sense, alike decisively condemn.

The etymological difficulty of the absorption of the first τ, so that κένταυρος = as it were ταυροκέντης = κέντωρ ταύρων (compare the Homeric κέντορες ἵππων) struck even a mediaeval Byzantine writer like Tzetzes; who proposes another account, saying in his patronizing way that if Palaephatus is right,

χρὴ κεντοταύρους τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲ κενταύρους λέγειν,  
Παλαίφατε σοφώτατε.<sup>2</sup>

But even if this objection were not conclusive against the derivation from the mounted bull-fighters of Thessaly, there are plenty of other reasons to render it untenable. The Centaur myth is essentially a myth of the mountains. Horsemanship is essentially an art of the plain. It is against nature to suppose that the first tribe of riders should have haunted, or been thought of afterwards as having haunted, a region of forests, caves, and precipices. Galen from his point of view writes very good sense when, among his many objections to the notion of such a creature as a Centaur, he alleges the inconvenience of the equine structure for purposes of getting over a mountainous and difficult country.<sup>3</sup> That the fable of the man-horse was

<sup>1</sup> Stackelberg, *Der Apollotempel zu Bassae*, p. 66 sqq.; Müller, K. O. *Archäol. der Kunst*, § 389, 1, Welcker, *Kl. Schriften*, vol. iii. loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Tzetz, *Chil.* vii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Gal. *De Usu part.*, iii. 1, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ταῦτά τις ὑπερβαίνει πάντα τὰ ἄτοπα \* \* οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλέον ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης κατασκευῆς, ὅτι μὴ τὸ τάχος. οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἀπλῶς οὐδ' ἐν ἅσιν χωρίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὀμαλοῖς καὶ λείοις πεδίοις μόνοις· εἰ δέ που δέοι πρὸς ὄρθιον δραμεῖν ἢ κάταντες ἢ λοξὸν ἢ ἀνώμαλον, ἢ νῦν οὐσα κατα-

σκευῇ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων σκελῶν ἀμείνων μακρῇ. οὕτω τε καὶ ὑπερπηδῆσαι καὶ πέτρας ὀξείας καὶ ὀρθίους ὑπερβῆναι, καὶ ὅλως ἀπάσας τὰς δυσχωρίας διελθεῖν ἀμείνων ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τερατώδους ἐκείνου Κενταύρου. Another difficulty, which exercises Galen, as to how a Centaur could climb a ladder, seems to have furnished a recognised *blague* upon the comic stage, judging by the grotesque vase, to which we have above referred (p. 141, note 2).

from the first inseparably associated, both in Thessalian and in Arcadian legend, with the wildest mountain summits of the country is proof enough that it did not owe its origin to the facts of riding. So far common sense; the arguments from archæology are more particular, if they can hardly be more convincing. For one thing, we learn from numismatics that pride in horses is characteristic in Thessaly, as we should expect, of the cities and communities not of the coastward ranges, but of the interior plain. A horse, or the fore part of a horse, appears as a type on coins of Gyrtion, of Krammon, of Larissa very frequently, of the Perrhaiboi, of Phalanna, of Pherai, of Skotussa. Sometimes such a horse is free, sometimes bridled, sometimes mounted; but all such representations are perfectly naturalistic, and of Centaur mythology they show no trace nor reminiscence.<sup>1</sup> On some of the coins of Larissa bearing on the obverse the type of a horse, there appears on the reverse, evidently in allusion to the custom insisted on by Boeckh, the subject of an athlete attacking a bull; attacking, but not, however, *κεντῶν*, inasmuch as he uses no thrusting weapon, but forces back the bull's head by a noose or strap fastened round the horns, in accordance with the words of Pliny, 'cornu intorta cervice.' Thus we find the pride both in horses and in bull-fighting commemorated side by side, without being brought a whit nearer the Centaurs.

Once more, although the Centaurs are hunters, they are hunters in the sense we have seen; according to the Greek vase-painters, hunters chiefly of hares, birds, and foxes; according to the Graeco-Roman mural painters, mosaists, and relief sculptors, chiefly of lions and panthers; but not hunters of bulls. In ancient art I only know of a single instance of a Centaur attacking a bull in a manner consonant with the supposed derivation of its name, and that is in a gem at the British Museum of a quite late period, when we may suppose that derivation to have been already in the air. If Diodoros adds to the weapons borne by the monsters against Herakles axes such as those used for the slaughter of bulls, that is probably also in deference

<sup>1</sup> There is only one horse-bearing district of Thessaly, which shows the figure of a Centaur on its coins; and that is the hill-country of the Magnes, between Pelion and the sea, a district

which was in fact associated with the Centaur myth as early as Pindar. But these coins are of very late date, and no argument can be drawn from them.

to the same etymology, which had begun to be already current.<sup>1</sup> For the rest, literature and art agree in giving no countenance to the idea of Centaurs going in pursuit of cattle and buffaloes, and little to that of their wielding human or artificial weapons. It is only in quite late instances that we occasionally see them pursuing their game with spears. They do not figure much as κέντορες either in chase or warfare; they are not piercers or thrusters, but smiters, hurlers, and graspers. The weapons with which they are all but exclusively armed are rocks and trees, wielded commonly with both hands; not, it must be confessed, an appropriate armament for the inventors of riding. The exceptions are when, as in the example above-mentioned of Class I. at Florence, one brandishes a table, and the other a large jar, at the brawl with the Lapithæ (cf. Ovid, *loc. cit.*, and Virg. *Georg.* ii. 456 :

et magno Hylæum Lapithis cratere minantem,')

or where, as in not more than two out of the forty-five illustrations of the Pholos story collected by Stephani, human weapons are really attributed to the monsters, as well as rocks and pines.<sup>2</sup> When Cheiron had been translated to the skies in the character of an archer, although late art had often shown him instructing Achilles in the chase with a bow and arrows, nevertheless the anomaly struck the ancient world, and some would not allow the name of Centaur to this sign, 'quod nemo Centaurus sagittis sit usus.'<sup>3</sup> The poets from Hesiod to Quintus Smyrnaeus are unanimous in assigning to the monsters the same weapons, viz. pines and rocks, and most frequently pines, which they carry in the vase pictures.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod. iv. 12, 5. Τῶν δὲ Κενταύρων οἱ μὲν πεύκας αὐτορρίζους ἔχοντες ἐπήγεσαν, οἱ δὲ πέτρας μεγάλας, τινὲς δὲ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας, ἕτεροι δὲ βουφόβους πελέκεϊς.

<sup>2</sup> Stephani, *Compte rendu*, 1873, p. 95, No. 2 = Jahn, *Vascus. Königs Ludw.* 435; p. 103, No. 13 = *Mus. Greg.* ii. pl. 77, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hygin. *Poet. Astronom.* ii. 27, and to exactly the same effect Eratosth. *Katast.* 28. This is the more noticeable inasmuch as there would seem to be authority for attributing human weapons to Cheiron at least from the time of

Pindar; since it was under his tuition that Achilles learnt to kill wild animals, πτανοῖς βέλεσι. Compare the *spicula* in the passage above quoted from Statius.

<sup>4</sup> Stephaniforonce makes a slip, where (*Compte rendu*, 1873, p. 99, note 4) he includes Hesiod among the writers who give spears to the Centaurs. In the lines, καὶ τε συναΐδην ὥσεϊ ζωοί περ ἔδοντες ἔγχεσιν ἥδ' ἐλάτης αὐτοσχεδὸν ὠριγνῶντο,

the context makes it perfectly clear that the ἔγχεα are the weapons of the Lapithæ, the ἐλάται of the monsters.

Surely, then, we have ample reasons for dismissing this derivation for good and all, alike its etymological part from *κεντεῖν* or *κεντᾶν ταύρους*, and its quasi-historical part from the supposed invention of horsemanship (by a race of mountaineers) for purposes of cattle-driving or buffalo-hunting.

2. *Κένταυρος ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντεῖν αὖραν*. Eustathius, *ad Il.* 102, mentions this as an alternate derivation for the last. It was suggested by the genealogy from Nephelè, and the idea that Nephelè = *αὔρα*. Eustathius, *loc. cit.* of the Pindaric *Κένταυρος* — *κληθέντος, φησίν, οὕτω διότι ὁ Ἰξίων κεντήσας αὖραν ἤτοι ἀερίαν Νεφέλην ἐγέννησεν αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνης*. Tzetzes, correcting Palaephatus and Pindar in one breath, adopts this derivation, and at the same time<sup>1</sup> explains that *αὔραι* = *δοῦλαι*: that Zeus in the story is a king (it having been in those days the habit of kings to take the name of Zeus), with whose wife, Hera, Ixion fell in love; that Nephelè was the name of a serving-maid who was induced to substitute herself for her mistress; and that from Ixion and this Nephelè sprang Imbros, who was in his turn the progenitor of the Hippocentaurs. To the French rationalizers of mythology this tale of the hospitable king, the amorous guest, and the accommodating serving-maid, naturally commends itself.

The same verbal elements were adopted for the etymology of the word by Schwenck,<sup>2</sup> who, supposing Centaurs to be divinities of torrent and waterfall (of which account see more below), compared the name of the fountain-nymph *Πληξ-αύρη*, and suggested that *κέντ-αυρος* was formed on the same principles. But if falling waters can be said to lash the air, they can hardly be said, with equal propriety, to stab it.

It is indeed extremely doubtful whether the syllable *κεντ-* of *κεντέω*, *κέντρον*, *κέντωρ* (of which the root according to Curtius appears in the Skr. *çintir*, a spur), is to be recognised in the name at all. So far as archaeology can have anything to say on an etymological question, it says no; see what has been above remarked concerning the weapons of the monsters. The solitary instance in early or central Greek art in which, to my knowledge, a Centaur is represented fighting in an action

<sup>1</sup> A hint of the same view is given, in passing, Schol. *Il.* ii 266.

<sup>2</sup> See Welcker, *KL. Schriften*, Th. iii. *loc. cit.*

appropriate to the meaning of this word is the unpublished vase at the British Museum where one drives the spiky end of an uprooted tree horizontally into the chest of a sinking Lapith. There seems more likelihood in an independent etymology proposed in 1850 by Ad. Kuhn;<sup>1</sup> viz. :—

3. Gr. *κένταυρος* = Skr. Gandharva. The changes of *κ* for *g* and *ντ* for *ndh* are not regular, but the reasons in support of Kuhn's view are otherwise somewhat cogent. The Gandharvas, it appears, are beings who play a considerable part in the mythology of the Vedas. They represent, according to all modern interpreters, one of the forms in which the clouds are embodied in that mythology. They are not conceived as being themselves partly horses, but as riding in chariots drawn by horses of brightness, many-coloured and fleet. They are skilled in music, prophecy, and song, and they are at the same time prone to lust. They are the wise companions of Indra, and the guardians of the sacred beverage, Soma. With both the good and the bad Centaurs, then, the Gandharvas evidently offer points of analogy. The theory consequently is that the Centaurs represent the Greek development, and the Gandharvas the Vedic development, of an identical mythic name and mythic conception which had its root among the primitive Aryans. The theory has been frequently repeated by recent writers in England. Pott held that the analogy between the two conceptions of the Gandharvas and the Centaurs was striking, but, which seems very unlikely, that the etymology connecting the two words offered serious difficulties.<sup>2</sup> Ebel in a brief note promised evidence to show not only that *Κένταυρος* = Gandhavi, but that both words contain a first root meaning spur or goad, and a second root meaning horse (a lost *αὔρος* reappearing in the Latin *auriga*).<sup>3</sup> On the points of comparative philology involved in the above views I am not able to speak with any authority. But even granting the common origin of the Greek and the Sanskrit myth, it is evident that the two in their developed form differ widely.

To get at the meaning of the Greek myth, it will be best to dismiss all such problematical etymologies as those we have discussed, and, while recognising the probability of an original

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Sprachforschung*, vol. i. pp. 523-542.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 81, *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v. 41.

connection with the Gandharvas, to take it by itself as it is presented to us by literature and archaeology, and see if it does not contain its own explanation. The result brought out in this method, partially by Gerhard, and more fully, though not yet as fully as the evidences admit, by Preller, seems to me in its main features convincing. I shall now proceed to state this result in my own way, and with some additional arguments.

First of all, then, analogy bids us look for the origin of such a myth as this, not in a circumstance of human progress like the invention of riding, but in some one or other of the processes of nature. The Greek way of thinking about the hostile or capricious forces of nature was to personify them in the form of some animal whose ways their ways seemed to resemble, or else in that of some monster compounded between such an animal and man. Sirens, Harpies, Scylla, the Chimaera, are familiar cases in point. Such animals or monsters in mythology may be identified with natural phenomena the more confidently when they come into the stories of heroes whose career has been, in the first instance, a mythologic image of the career of the sun. And although the solar and physical theory of mythology has undoubtedly been pushed too confidently and too far, and the present course of inquiry tends to limit it by claiming for other elements the place to which they are entitled, nevertheless there are some heroes of mythology, and foremost among them Herakles, the original elements of whose character are unquestionably solar. Neither can it be well doubted that his brutal or monstrous enemies, such as the Lernaean hydra or the Erymanthian boar, originally represented plagues and scourges of nature; the plague of undrained marshes; the scourge of waters pent up in Arcadian valleys till they burst forth with ravage. To this class of conception analogy, then, teaches us to expect that the Centaurs should belong. If we ask to what particular group in the class they belong, and what sort of scourge exactly they represent, the answer seems obvious.

The horse, by the rise and fall of his movement, by his arched and bounding velocity, is the most obvious and most usual symbol for water, and is associated in a hundred ways with Poseidon and his ocean train. The violence of a brood of untamed man-horses we should anticipate to mean, in mythologic

language, the violence of a host of unchecked waters.<sup>1</sup> When the same man-horses are further said to be the children of Nephelè, the Cloud, our anticipation is remarkably confirmed. Their sire or grandsire is Ixion, the murderer, the lawless visitant, who outrages the friendship alike of men and gods, and whom, in regard to his chastisement by perpetual revolution on a wheel of torture, it is tempting to take for an allegory of the whirlwind. But the myth of Ixion is one not easy of interpretation;<sup>2</sup> and where other arguments seem so conclusive, it is hardly necessary to follow out the question of paternity. The Cloud, at any rate, pours forth her brood among the caves and cliffs of Pelion. What can that brood be if not rains and floods? Compare the following words of Theophrastos, writing purely as a meteorologist, and without thought of symbolism or personification—*ἐὰν ἐπὶ τὸ Πήλιον νεφέλη προσίξη, ὅθεν αὖ προσίξη ἐντεῦθεν ὕδωρ ἢ ἄνεμον σημαίνει*<sup>3</sup>—with those in which a Roman poet writes of the generation of the Centaurs:

‘illic semiferos Ixionidas Centauros  
feta Pelethroniis nubes effudit in antris.’<sup>4</sup>

Can we escape the conclusion that the two are unconsciously referring to the same phenomenon? Devastating torrents are the progeny which follow the settling of the cloud upon the mountain-side. And what are their weapons of devastation? By the consent, as we have seen, of poets and artists, their weapons are rocks and pines. This seems to put our interpretation almost beyond the reach of doubt. One of the most striking and universal phenomena of mountain torrents in flood time is the accumulation of trees and boulders, which by damming increase the force of the flood until they are carried away, when they add to the ruin of inundation. Take again two passages in which a Greek and a Roman poet respectively describe the coming down of the Centaurs. In the *Heracles Furens*, the chorus, after commemorating the rout of the monsters by the

<sup>1</sup> A point in favour of my argument, to which my attention has been drawn by Prof. Percy Gardner, is that on some of the Thessalian coins already alluded to; e.g. those of Pherai, where the fore half of a horse is represented cut off, emerging from amidst rocks, the

representation is clearly meant to be metaphorical, and to symbolize the sacred spring or fountain of the town.

<sup>2</sup> See Pott, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Theophr. *De Sign. Pluv.* 22.

<sup>4</sup> Luc. *Phars.* vi. 386.

hero, calls the rivers, hills, and devastated pastures of the plain to witness :—

ξύνοιδε Πηνειὸς ὁ καλλιδίνας  
μακραί τ' ἄρουραι πεδίων ἄκαρποι  
καὶ Πηλιάδες θεράπναι  
σύγχορτοί θ' Ὀμόλας ἔναν-  
λοι, πεύκαισιν ὅθεν χέρας  
πληροῦντες χθόνα Θεσσαλῶν  
ἰππείαις ἐδάμαζον.<sup>1</sup>

That a real cavalry should come down with armfuls of pine-trees to destroy the crops is an absurdity ; but that a metaphorical cavalry, that of the floods, should do so, is none.

In the *Aeneid* there is this similitude :—

'ceu duo nubigenae cum uertice montis ab alto  
descendunt Centauri Homolen Othrynque nivalem  
linquentes cursu rapido ; dat euntibus ingens  
silua locum, et magno cedunt uirgulta fragore.'<sup>2</sup>

But it is in the account given by Diodoros of the Arcadian version of the myth that its physical significance seems to come most transparently to the surface. Diodoros (having of course no notion of the identity of floods with Centaurs) relates how those monsters were helped in their fight against Herakles by floods, caused by their mother, the Cloud, on their behalf : συνηγωνίζετο δ' αὐτοῖς ἡ μήτηρ Νεφέλη πολλὴ. ὁμβρον ἐκχεύουσα, δι' οὗ τοὺς μὲν τετρασκελεῖς οὐκ ἔβλαπτε, τῷ δὲ δυσὶν ἐρηρυσμένῳ σκέλεσι τὴν βάσιν ὀλισθηρὰν κατεσκεύαζεν.<sup>3</sup> Again, the store of wine which it is so perilous to open is represented by the same Diodoros as having been deposited with Pholos by Dionysos on the understanding that it was only to be opened when Herakles should pass that way.<sup>4</sup> In other words, may we not say, the imprisoned forces of the earth's fertility are left in charge of the genius of the mountain, only to be unlocked at the approach of the sun in spring ; and their unlocking is the signal for the breaking forth of the torrents ? Nay, it has been suggested, though no doubt too fancifully, that the lid of the *πίθος*, removed in the story by Herakles, stands for the

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 368 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. iv. 12, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Verg. *Aen.* vii. 674 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

snows of winter upon the mountain disappearing before the sun; and that this is the reason why, in the traditional practice of the vase-painters, it is painted white.

One great virtue of this theory is that, while it accounts so completely and naturally for the bad Centaurs, it seems also to account equally well for the good. It is a very clumsy way of explaining why the mythical tribe of man-horses should include, along with its savage majority, the humane exception Cheiron, to say that although the wild bull-drivers, whose memory was handed down in this form, were ferocious, yet they knew some of the secrets of medicine and properties of herbs. If on the other hand the ferocious tribes are not to be taken literally, but as representing the terror of the mountain floods, what do Cheiron and Pholos stand for then? The obvious answer seems to be that which, in the case of Cheiron, has been worked out by Preller in a manner which leaves little to be added. The two good Centaurs would, according to this view, represent the peaceful and beneficent aspect of the same forces of which the multitude of bad Centaurs represent the turbulent and desolating aspects. They are the kindly powers of the mountain flood. The wholesomeness of the air of Pelion, the healing virtues of its herbs and waters, whereby it became the legendary home of Asklepios and the historical sanatorium of Greece, are attested from a great variety of sources. The wise and prophetic Cheiron of the Thessalian fountains would thus be a nobler counterpart—nobler, because first conceived as existing in a region which was the cradle both of the heroic legends and the healing arts of Greece—of the wise and prophetic Seilenos (for Seilenos is also a water-god<sup>1</sup>) of the fountains of Phrygia. An underlying physical connection of this kind between Cheiron and the other Centaurs seems in truth to furnish the only possible reason why he should have been mythologically inseparable from them in the manner we have seen, notwithstanding his different character and the different genealogy devised for him by the poets.

The next thing is to see how this account of the monsters, which seems so plausible thus far, is borne out by their names;

<sup>1</sup> See Jahn, *Ficoroni'sche Cist'a*, p. 371, and Preller. *Gr. Myth.* i. 573 sqq.

not, I mean, by their tribal or generic name of Centaur, of which enough has been said, but by their individual names as recorded in poems and the inscriptions of vases.

Let us first take the four names of Centaurs that are common and universal in all traditions concerning the monsters: Cheiron, the sage of the Pelethronian cave; Eurytion or Eurytos, the constant name of the ravisher both in the Thesalian and the Eleio-Arcadian tales; Nessos, the offender at the ford of the Euenos; and Pholos, the Arcadian counterpart of Cheiron.

Cheiron is no water-name, but is, of course, connected with *χείρ*, and denotes manual skill; especially in this case the skill of surgery, chirurgery, *χειρουργία*: compare Pind. *Nem.* iii. 53, *sqq.*:—

βαθυμήτα Χείρων τράφε λιθίνῳ  
 Ἰάσον' ἔνδον τέγει καὶ ἔπειτεν Ἀσκληπίον,  
 τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νόμον.

The only signs of a water origin in his lineage are, first, the description of his mother Philyra as a Naïd or Oceanid, and second, the introduction in the account followed by Tzetzes of a sire, Imbros, between himself and his progenitor Kronos.

Eurytion (in Ovid Eurytos) may either be a name from *εὐρύς*, or else from *εὐ* and *ρυτός* (*ρέω, ρεύσω, ῥόος, ῥεύμα, κ.τ.λ.*). Pape<sup>1</sup> holds for the first derivation: Eurytion, Eurytos = Germ. *Breitung, Breiterer*. But Pott<sup>2</sup> has shown what seems conclusive reasons for adopting the second. Comparing, for the suffix in the form Eurytion, *Θεοδοτίων* = *Θεόδοτος*, he goes on to show that Eurytos is a name common in mythology, and especially common among the enemies of Herakles. *E.g.* the cowherd of Geryones and the king of Oechalia, father of Iolè, are both so-called. In one instance, where the name occurs in the feminine, its connection with the powers of the flood is patent:—Alkippè, the daughter of Ares and Agraulos, is assailed, according to Apollodoros, by one *Halirrthios*, the son of Poseidon and the nymph *Euryti*.<sup>3</sup> It seems safe,

<sup>1</sup> Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen, sub voce.

<sup>2</sup> Pott in *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Sprachforschung*, vii. 81, *sqq.* Mytho-etymologica, Ixion, Eurytos.

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. iii. 14, 2, 2. ταύτην βιάζομενος Ἀλιπρόθιος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ νύμφης Ἐυρύτης ὑπὸ Ἀρεως φωραβείσ κτείνεται.

then, to adopt the etymology from *ρύτος*, and to regard the Centaur Eurytion, like the various analogously named enemies of the sun-hero Herakles, as a demon of rain and flood. Pott goes on to ask whether the name of another Centaur, *Ροῖκος*, Rhoikos (who with Hylaïos offered violence to Atalantè, and who is described as whirling beneath the crest of Mount Oeta elms which the north wind could hardly overthrow<sup>1</sup>), is not to be considered as = *ροῖκός*, from *ρόος*, *ροή*, rather than as = *ροικός* = *ραιβός* = uarus. We have besides, from some later Greek development of the myth turned to account by Ovid, the name of a female Centaur Okyroë (*Ὠκυρόη*).

Nessos furnishes a quite certain case in favour of our reading of the myth. His station is at the Euenos, and the exploit of Herakles against him is closely analogous to the previous exploit against the river-god Acheloos. His name is assigned by Curtius to the root *νεδ* (Skr. *naḍ*, whence *naḍa*, a river), to roar or bellow; compare the names of the Thracian river Nestos and the Peloponnesian Neda.<sup>2</sup> It is also a singular circumstance, pointing in the same direction, that the Lokroi Ozolai should, in historical times, have derived their name from the foetor (*ὄζος*, *ὄξη*) of the springs issuing from a certain mountain of their territory where they supposed the Centaur Nessos to have been buried, and which was called in consequence *Τάφιος* or *Ταφιασσός*.<sup>3</sup>

Pholos, the eponymous Centaur of the mountain Pholoë, bears a name of very doubtful etymology. Preller suggests that *φολόη* = *θολόη* (*θόλος*, a vault or dome) by the Aeolo-Doric change of *φ* for *θ*.<sup>4</sup> Gerhard on the other proposes *φωλεός* a den (*φωλάς*, *φωλεύω*). In either case the etymology affords no clue to the myth, and the only tangible connection of Pholos with water-streams is through his father, Seilenos, who, as we have said, was in the first instance a fertilizing deity of fountains and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 140, note 1, and cf. Lucan, *Phars.* vi. 389:

‘teque sub Oetaeo torquentem uertice uulsas

Rhoece ferox quae uix Boreas inuertet ornos.’

In the form of the name, which is also that of a giant, the Latin poets vary

between Rhoecus and Rhoetus; see Hor. *Od.* ii. 9, 23; iii. 4, 55; Ov. *Met.* xii. 271, *sqq.*; Verg. *Georg.* ii. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Curtius, *Greek Etym.* vol. i. 243; and comp. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* ii. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. ix. 427; Paus. x. 38, 2; Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 15.

<sup>4</sup> Preller, *Gr. Myth.* ii. 194, n. 3.

gardens, and whose name seems to have borne in Italy the sense of water-spring.

Among these four Centaurs of constant occurrence we have, then, two, Cheiron and Pholos, whose parentage only is more or less distinctly aqueous; while the other two, Nessos and Eurytion, are declared by their names to be themselves creatures of the flood. To these two we may probably add Rhoikos, and from later traditions certainly Imbreus (compare the above-mentioned Imbros from Tzetzes) and Crenaeos<sup>1</sup> = Κρηναῖος: compare Πηγασός, the winged horse of the fountain Peirenè.<sup>2</sup> Into the same connexion we are certainly justified in bringing the names Phrixos (Diod. iv. 13; compare the φρίσσοντες ὄμβροι of Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 44) and Ripheus (Ov. *Met.* xii. 32; compare Pind. *Pyth.* iv. ῥιπαὶ κυμάτων ἀνέμων τε).

Let us now take in alphabetical order the several names of Centaurs recorded by our two earliest authorities, namely, Hesiod, and the decorators of the François vase. Each of these, we shall find, is one of a group or family of names of similar meaning, which we can collect from passages referring to Centaurs in later writers; and principally from the passages cited above of Diodoros, Apollodoros, and Ovid.

Agrios: Fr. v., and again in Apollod., Diod. (the latter in form Ἀργεῖος), &c. The wild one. This is simply a name of savagery; to the same family belong two names of Greek form in Ovid, Apeidas and Bianor.

Arktos: Hes. and Ovid. The bear. This is one of a group of Centaur names associating the monsters with the beasts of the forest, of which others are found in Ovid; *e.g.* Lycabas, Lycidas, Lycos, Lycotas. Two other names from the same source associate them, as we have already observed, with the chase; namely Thereus and Dictys.

Asbolos: Fr. v. *Ἄσβολος*: another vase at Berlin, (Gerhard, *Etrusk. u. Campan. Trinkschalen* 13) Hes., Ov., in dub. name Astylos? Philostr., Tzetzes. In the latest as in the earliest

<sup>1</sup> Ov. *Met.* xii. 310, 313.

<sup>2</sup> It is a fact worth noticing in this connection, that a vase in the British Museum, to which allusion has already been made, and which is probably of local Etruscan manufacture, shows Pegasus and a Centaur together; the

latter being of the primitive shape, and flinging one human foreleg in a kind of grotesque *caneen* over the body of the former. For other traditions connecting Pegasus with the Centaurs, see Schol. *ad Il.* i. 226.

accounts, the Centaur bearing this curious name plays an important part. If the name is identical with the word ἄσβολος, ἄσβολη = soot, itself of obscure etymology, we can only associate it with a certain number of other Centaur names given by Ovid and denoting agencies of fire; *e.g.* Phlegraeos, Pyraemos.

Dryalos: Hes. He of the oaks. This is one of the names associating Centaurs with forest-trees. Dryalos, from δρῦς, an oak, is, according to Hesiod, one of two sons of the pine, Πευκείδαι. There are a number of other Centaur names of kindred meaning, *e.g.*

Hylaïos: Fr. v. Ἠυλαῖος; Berlin vase *supr. cit.*; Diod., Verg. *Georg.* iii. 45; Ov. *Met.* ii. 191; Stat. *Theb.* xii. 535, &c., &c.). He of the woods. This name, from woods in general, is one of those most commonly given to a Centaur. In the two vases quoted, Hylaïos brandishes a bough, according to his name. Vergil and Statius describe his part in the Lapith quarrel; Diodoros and Ovid his chastisement by Atalantè. Other names of kindred meaning, besides Dryalos and the patronymic Peukeides above quoted, are Daphnis (Diod. iv. 13), Elatos (Apollod. ii. 5, 4), the Centaur through whose arm the arrow of Herakles passes before it wounds Cheiron; Hylonomè, the female Centaur in Ovid; Orneus, *ibid.*

Melanchaites: Fr. v. Μελανῖτες, Hes. apparently as an epithet of Mimas—

Ἄρκτον τ' Οὔρειόν τε μελαγχαίτην τε Μιμαντα,

Diod. iv. 13. The black-haired. This is simply a picturesque or descriptive name, and may be classed with the name of shagginess, Cometes (Ovid), the horse names Hippotion (Diod.), Hippasos (Ovid), Monychos (Luc. *Phars.* vi. 388; comp. μώνυχες ἵπποι), and the colour names, Melaneus, Pyrrhus (see below), Phaeocomes (Ovid).

Mimas: Hes. This is also the name of a giant, and again of a mountain, and probably signifies merely hugeness; while a definite association with mountains is proclaimed in

Oreios: Fr. v. (the characters are not quite clear, and have been variously read *Opeios* and *Opoβιος*). Hes. Οὔρειος. Paus. iii. 18, 16, quotes the name "Ορεῖος of a Centaur figured on the Amyklaean throne. Diod. iv. 13; and frequently. He of the mountains. This is the only name which any Centaur bears in

common with a Satyr.<sup>1</sup> Of the same family is the next and equally general name,

Petraios: Fr. v. Berlin vase *supr. cit.* Hes., Ovid. He of the rocks. In the François-vase this rock-Centaur is figured as wielding a tree like his brother of the woods, Hylaios; in the Berlin vase they are armed, according to the respective significance of their names.

Perimedes: Hes. The wondrous wise. This name, given by Hesiod to one of the Peukeidae, seems unfitted for that of a combatant Centaur; but has its counterpart in others that occur in Ovid, *e.g.* Medon, Pisenor.

Pyrrhos: Fr. v. Πυρος. The bay. For this name, descriptive of colour, and its congeners, see above, Melanchaites.

Lastly, a family of names not represented in our two oldest written lists of Centaurs is one akin by its meaning to the root *νεδ* of Nessos, and signifying noise and uproar; *e.g.* Homados (Ὅμαδος, Diod. iv. 13), Doupon (Δοίπων, *ibid.*); compare Erigdoupos, Bromos, Teleboas, in Ovid.

The result, then, of our examination of the individual names of Centaurs is that they resolve themselves into several groups: one directly betraying a connection with water-floods (Eurytion, Nessos, Rhoikos most probably, Imbros or Imbreus, Phrixos, Ripheus, Okyroë); another with wild beasts and with the chase (Arktos, Lyncas, Lycos, Lycotas, Thereus, Dictys); another and smaller apparently with fire and smoke (Asbolos, Phlegmaeos, Pyramnos); another and considerable group with woods and trees (Dryalos, the Peukeidai, Hylaios, Daphnis, Elatos, Orneus, Hylonomè); another with mountains and rocks (Oreios, Petraios); a very small group with wisdom and persuasion (Perimedes, Medon, Pisenor); a last group, thus bringing us round again to our torrents, with clamour and uproar (Homados, Doupon, Erigdoupos, Teleboas). Two other groups are merely descriptive: the one of savagery (Agrios, Apheidas, Bianor), the other of equine appearance or colour (Melanchaites, Cometes, Hippotion, Hippasos, Monychos, Phaeocomes, Melaneus, Pyrrhus). The elemental and nature-groups are vastly preponderant; and the general result certainly tends to strengthen

<sup>1</sup> Jahn, *Vas. b.* (Hamburg, 1839), gives a list of satyr names, pp. 17-28. That which he reads Eurytion, merely

from the precedent of the Centaur so called, stands in the vase in the ambiguous form ΕΥΑΤΤΙΩΝ.

our interpretation of our myth, as a myth, so far as the Centaurs are concerned, of the mountain storms and floods.

Who the antagonists of the Thessalian Centaurs in their mountain warfare may be, is not an easy question to answer. Preller was most probably wrong in connecting the name of the Lapithae (from whose character for violence came the words *λαπαίζειν*, *λαπιστής*) with the Latin *lapis*. Is it not more likely to be allied to the root *rap-* of *rapio*? According to Stackelberg, the name *λαίπαες* was still current in the early years of this century as a name for the robber bands infesting the Thessalian mountains. There seems no sufficient evidence, either from etymology or from the tenor of the myth itself, for deciding whether it originally expressed the conflict of one set of physical powers against another—powers of assault against powers of resistance—as Preller was inclined to suppose, or the conflict of physical powers against man. In favour of the former view we have the argument that the Lapithae, like the Centaurs, were fabled to be the offspring of Ixion,<sup>1</sup> and that several of their genealogies, as that of Kai-neus from Elatè, and of their names, as Dryas, Hypseus, Charaxos, point to the pine, the oak, the peak, and the ravine, no less than those of their antagonists. On the other hand, it is certain that in the imagination of the historical Greeks the Lapithae were a race of their own heroic progenitors, and with all their fierceness represented the forces of humanity, and in a measure of civilization, in conflict with forces inhuman and monstrous. But the two explanations do not in fact exclude each other. This or that physical process of nature does no more than provide the mould in which a myth is originally cast. Into that mould a whole history of unrecorded human achievement is afterwards compressed. Thus, whether the myth of the Centaurs and Lapithae was originally a myth of the powers of nature on both sides or on one, it in course of time certainly absorbed into itself the memories of human struggles. To the physical significance which imprinted its original form on the story there was added a weighty accretion of significance, ethical, political, and historical. The accounts of the exploits of Greek heroes against monstrous foes may be ever so much

<sup>1</sup> But see Schol. *Il.* i. 226, for descendants of the nymph Stilbé and another genealogy, making them the of Apollo.

accounts, in the first instance, of solar or other physical processes; they are also in the next instance, accounts of the achievements of generation after generation of primitive men, stemmers of torrents, drainers of marshes, clearers of forest, hunters of noxious beasts, pioneers, reclaimers, and founders of civilization.

There remains a final and cogent argument in favour of the view we have been defending concerning the Centaurs. We have seen that this view has the merit of explaining one difficulty about them, that of the identity between the sage Cheiron and his evil horde. It also explains another, that of the different relation which we have shown to subsist at different periods between the Centaurs and the *thiasos* of Bacchus. There is no question, of course, but that Satyr and Seilenos are personified powers of nature; powers of nature's fertility, of her exuberance, of the teeming life that is in her tilled and in her solitary places, of the moisture in the stream, the sap in the tree and the liquor in the fruit. If the Centaurs are kindred powers, the likeness between the shapes in which they were conceived as respectively existing is self-explained. It is natural that two nearly allied sets of personifications should be invested with nearly the same physical attributes. But the two sets were called to different destinies. The Centaurs, representing powers of inundation, that ravage as well as fertilise, were conceived as engaged in deadly warfare with ancestral man. Not so the Satyrs, representing powers of fertility only. Both are half brutal, but the Centaurs alone are terrible; the Satyrs are gross and freakish merely. Monsters that were from the first conceived as the typical enemies of heroes held a very different place in the Greek imagination from monsters that were conceived as merely the roguish sprites of the woodland. The *γένος οὐτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμηχανοέργων*<sup>1</sup> are a much less serious and formidable kind of creature than the *τετρασκελὲς ὕβρισμα Κενταύρων γένος*.<sup>2</sup> The latter belong to the oldest and gravest epic and heroic legends; *κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο*; it is only in the popular burlesques of such legends that the former have their part. While the strife against the Centaurs was celebrated as all but the earliest

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, ap. Strab. 471.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Herc. fur.* 181; comp. Soph. *Trach.* 1085:—

διφυῆ τ' ἄμικτον ἵπποβάμονα στρατὸν  
θηρῶν, ὕβριστήν ἀνομον ὑπέροχον βίαν.

deed of Greek prowess, wherein took part in their youth heroes who were old at the siege of Troy, and fathers whose sons sailed with Jason to Kolchis, the Satyrs were only thought of as frolic imps, lurking in field and woodland under the leadership of the old Seilenos. As the popular worship of Dionysos extended and complicated itself, with a mingling of Greek elements and elements imported from Thrace and from Asia, Satyr and Seilenos were early enrolled as his appropriate ministers and attendants. But this was not the case with the Centaurs. Dionysos being the great god of the earth's fertility in all its forms, these monsters of the flood came indeed within the scope of the ideas relating to him. He crosses their story here and there, and in the Arcadian version of the story, at least, it is at the broaching of his intoxicating gift that their violence is fabled to break forth. But they were not enrolled among his regular following until the heroic myths had lost their power and their weight of meaning in the declining days of the Greek imagination. As long as the Greeks took in solemn earnest the ancestral traditions of their race, as long as the Athenian sculptors saw in the struggles of Theseus and Herakles against these monsters so many struggles of civilization against savagery, of discipline against lawlessness, of Hellas against barbarism, and tried to embody them in forms worthy of that conception, so long there was little likelihood of the mighty Centaurs being identified with the merely mischievous Satyrs. Even the facial resemblance between them is in some of the works of the Athenian school nearly wanting. The sculptors of that school, in the Olympian pediment, the Phigaleian frieze, and the Parthenon metopes, vary as to the adoption or omission of the degrading feature of animal ears. They express upon the countenances of the monsters violent expressions of lust, pain, and rage, but otherwise raise them much above mere types of grotesqueness and debasement, and in a few instances (particularly in the Parthenon metopes) even ennoble them within a few degrees of the heroes against whom they contend. But this heroic spirit was of short duration. It was almost extinct after the close of the Peloponnesian War. The second great Attic school, working in the first half of the fourth century B.C., transformed the spirit of art; playful or pathetic invention took the place of the old ethical and political seriousness. Then the original, the

mythologic affinity between the Centaur and the Satyr was free to assert itself, and to bring together the trivial creature and the terrible, with his terror taken out of him, in the modes so abundantly illustrated in later monuments. How far this consummation may have been prepared by the travesties of heroic legends exhibited on the comic and satyric stage we have not sufficient evidence to show. The innovation of Zeuxis concerning Centauresses and little Centaurs, of which we have already spoken, is the first recorded step in the descent; of this particular innovation the vase-paintings show no trace nor reflection. The incorporation of the Centaurs among the increasingly popular cycle of Dionysos and his satellites is another step; and of that, as we have seen, the vase-paintings show but few scattered evidences before the extinction of the art. Meantime the serious literature of Greece from Homer downwards, and her popular art from the earliest times almost to the latest, keep the two orders of beings apart. Kômos and Gelôs, Skôps and Simos, Kissos, Oinopîôn, and Dorkis, may play the apes of heroes at the shows of Bacchus; but Cheiron and Pholos, Nessos, Eurytion and Asbolos, Hylaios, Petraios, and Oreios had been themselves the equal friends or foes of heroes amid the imagined greatness of the past. If they are worth the study we have been expending upon them, it is because of the dignity which they derive from that association.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

PYTHAGORAS OF RHEGION AND THE EARLY  
ATHLETE STATUES.

## I.

THE earliest works of Greek art manifest the inability of the artist to express all he desired by the inherent character of his work. The most striking characteristic of Greek art, and a trait which runs through the whole character of the ancient Greek race, is the simplicity with which it attains its great effects, the perfect harmony which obtains between the desire and conception and the realisation and execution. But it is only in the highest stage that we meet with this power: the genius of Pheidias is characterised by the perfect harmony that subsists between the idea and its realisation. Full proficiency in the technical handling of the material must precede the facile expression of inner conceptions by means of material form; and the study of the history of archaic art is the study of the struggle of the artistic spirit with the reluctant material and its final victory over it.

But the desire to give individual character to their statues was felt by the artists, though they had not the power to put it into the essential form of the work itself. This desire found an outlet in expression by means of more accidental and attributive characteristics. The gods, such as Hermes, Apollo, and Zeus, were characterised by means of their distinctive attributes. The conventional and typical form of a male figure, with the feet one before the other, and firmly planted in parallel lines, the arms pressed close to the body down to the elbow, received on the extended hand a thunderbolt or a sceptre to indicate Zeus, a bow or a deer to indicate Apollo, a caduceus to personify Hermes.

We also meet with an Apollo with a lamb or a Hermes with a ram, while there is no markedly distinct feature in the personal appearance of either. The same applies to the archaic representations of Hera, Athene, or Artemis. Grace and beauty are not expressed in the essential forms of a female figure, but in mere outward actions and positions, such as the light suspension of a part of the garment in one hand, or the holding of a blossom.<sup>1</sup> The position of both hands in the earliest Aphrodite type, which reminds us strongly of the Oriental Astarte, was symbolic of fertility, and had not the moral significance which a similar attitude has in the Aphrodite of Knidus, and still less the morbid self-consciousness expressed by the same attitude in the Venus de' Medici.

But not only did they fail in indicating the individual character of gods and their moral qualities by means of the bodily forms, but in the earliest stages we even find that the artists were incapable of indicating in the statues themselves the difference between the human and the divine. This difficulty arose especially in drawing distinctive lines between gods and athletes in statues. For besides the decorative, architectural figures, we meet with no single statues besides those of athletes in the archaic period. And the difficulty became most apparent in dealing with a youthful male figure like Apollo. The statue of the pancratiast Arrhachion in the market-place of Phigalia is described by Pausanias<sup>2</sup> in a manner which makes him correspond exactly to works like the existing statues of the Apollo of Tenea, Orchomenos, and Thera. Apollo, in these early stages, has all the unadorned dryness of a simple ephebe. He is the type of a youth. A later stage will accentuate strength and muscular development on the one hand, to indicate the athletic character of a human youth, and a more luxurious, comely, physical constitution, fuller and softer forms, on the other hand, to represent the god of male beauty. I do not mean to imply that early Greek art will ever represent an Apollo in

<sup>1</sup> A question well worthy of special investigation is, whether, as I am inclined to believe, the frequent endowment of a female figure with a blossom, a fruit, or a flower, as we have it on so-called 'Spes' figures and on reliefs, does not simply point to an attempt to

express the subjective nature of the figure bearing them, maidenly, womanly charm, &c., and that it has no further mythological or mystical significance, as is generally assumed.

<sup>2</sup> *Arcadica*, viii. ch. 40.

the luxurious, effeminate softness which pleased the taste and corresponded to the spirit of the age of decadence; but I simply mean that the incipient expressive power in art will manifest itself in drawing the broad line between strength and richness of form. And the manifestation of this power we do meet with in one earliest instance of statuary, namely, the small bronze of an Apollo from Miletus in the British Museum, generally assumed to be a replica of the Apollo by the sculptor Kanachos of Sikyon. The exact date of this work is a matter of discussion;<sup>1</sup> we may however fairly assume that the Apollo of Miletus falls shortly before or after the 71st Olympiad (493 B.C.). However imperfect the rendering of the original statue may be in so small a replica, and however little adapted, therefore, as a criterion for the details of style, still we cannot help recognising a certain power of giving softer human forms which are clearly opposed to the dryness of the athletic forms. There is no reason to believe that the artistic movement receded, and that the expressive power was smaller after Kanachos than before; the Aeginetan marbles would immediately dispel such an assumption. On the contrary, we must assume that after Kanachos the power to distinguish an Apollo from an athlete grew, and that *a statue which in style and technique belongs to a period subsequent to Kanachos is not an Apollo if the bodily forms markedly bear the characteristics of the athletic youth.*

Even before the times of Kanachos, however, the artists had means of expressing the difference between the god and the athlete in their works, yet in a less essential but a more accessory manner, namely, in the difference of head-dress. A thorough investigation of the question of ancient Greek head-dress which combines the literary and monumental evidence is as yet wanting; and as the following considerations are merely part of a series which prove the importance of elucidating this question, we must devote some space to it.

We are accustomed invariably to associate short hair with athletes, and archaeologists have been up to the present day predisposed to ignore the athletic character of a statue if it did not have short hair. But it is quite impossible that athletes

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. bayr. Akademie*, 1871, p. 518 seq.; Ulrichs, *Abhandl. üb. d. Anfänge d. griech. Künstlergeschichte*, Würzburg, 1872; M. Fränkel, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 90.

should have been represented with short hair till after the Persian wars. Before this period and for a good while after, the agonistic games and the exercises in the palaestra were an important part of the training of Greek youths. Originally, they were an institution with a fixed social and political aim. They were a *means* to produce strong and skilled citizens. More and more this institution, which was originally a means to some farther end, asserted its independence, until finally it became the *end* to which the whole personal existence became a means. In modern terms this signifies that the young Greeks were 'gentlemen athletes,' who indulged in exercise to heighten their bodily proficiency, but that, more and more, sports became an end in themselves, until athletic exercise became a profession, and all the time, the exertion and aspirations of an individual became subservient to this acquisition. A similar tendency may be noticed in modern times.

We know that the *καρηκομόωντες* 'Αχαιοί took great pride in their long and thick hair, and it was not only the case in the heroic age, that short or thin hair was considered ungainly. So the ugly Thersites is described *ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη*. Even in the historic age the same tradition survived. Only the slaves were *κεκαρμένοι* and were not allowed to wear long hair.<sup>1</sup> Long hair prevailed throughout the whole of Greece. In Sparta Lycurgus fixed the custom by law;<sup>2</sup> the Spartans not only considered long hair ornamental, but also useful, and devoted great care to its preservation and adornment;<sup>3</sup> before the battle they combed and braided their hair.<sup>4</sup> In Attica, and especially in Athens, long hair was also worn, and after the time of the Alkmaeonidae specially luxurious and ornamental forms of head-dress, such as the *κρωβύλος*, seem to have come into fashion.<sup>5</sup>

Now it is evident that the free-born Greek youth was unwilling to sacrifice his long hair, in which he took such pride, to avoid inconvenience during his exercises in the palaestra, or on every occasion that he took part in one of the national

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *Av.* l. 911.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, *De Republ. Lac.* c. xi. §3; cf. J. H. Krause, *Plotina, od. über die Kostüme des Haupthaars bei den Völkern der alten Welt*, Leipzig, 1858. Abschn. III.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Apophthegm. reg. et imperet.* T. i. p. 754; *Lacon. Apophthegm.* p. 917; Lycurg. c. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, vii. c. 208.

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides, i. 6.

games. On the other hand, though long hair must have been a great impediment in many of the daily exercises, and especially in the palaestra, we can still conceive of its being less troublesome in some of the lighter games of the pentathlon, such as running, jumping, throwing the discus or the spear. But in wrestling, boxing, and in the pancration<sup>1</sup> (a combination of the two) the trouble caused by long hair must have been too great. They were driven, therefore, to have recourse to such a disposal of their hair as would render it least in their way; this would consist in braiding the hair into two long plaits, and in compactly laying these two braids round the back of the head, along each side, and firmly tying them in front on the top. This is a simple means of disposing of long hair, which we must assume to have been adopted as the most practical.

The need for such contrivances was done away with after the Persian wars. The ancient customs were altered; only children retained their long hair, while so soon as they became ephebes in a solemn act their hair was cut off to the length which we notice in the youths on the Parthenon frieze. The feast connected with this act was called *οἰνιστήρια*.<sup>2</sup> The so cut off hair was dedicated to one of the gods or a river-god,<sup>3</sup> and frequently they made a pilgrimage to Delphi to dedicate it to the Pythian Apollo.<sup>4</sup> This change in custom may have been brought about by the reformation in general customs which developed the hardy, warlike spirit of the Greeks, who had learnt the value of strong soldiers through the struggle with the Persians; and this spirit again may have led to a renewed cultivation and accentuation of athletic sports to serve the common need.

According to the literary sources, therefore, we are led not to expect short-haired athletes till some time after the Persian wars (for the new fashion would not have transfused art until the old association had died out, and the eye of the public had grown accustomed to the innovation); and with works belonging

<sup>1</sup> Special mention is even made of a peculiar head-dress of the pancratiasts, cf. Krause, *Hellenica, I. Gymnastik und Agonistik der Griechen*, &c., p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. T. ii. p. 730; Pollux, vi. 22, Eupolis ap. Photium, *Lexic.* p. 321;

Eustath. *Il.* xii. 311, p. 967, 18; cf. Krause, *ibid.* p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Aeschyl. *Choeph.* 6, Paus. i. 37, 2; Diphilos, *πολυπραγμ.* l. 6 (Comic. Graec. Fragm. ed. Meineke, t. 4, p. 407); Dio Chrysost. xxxv. p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Chrysostom, l.c.

to epochs previous to the Persian wars we shall expect to find long-haired athletes.

The monumental evidence corresponds exactly to the literary traditions which we have just examined. Of the numerous athlete statues which have been recognized as such, not one has been identified as belonging to an earlier date than the Discobolos of Myron. Of this statue there are numerous replicas. But if works have come down to us by later artists and by the famous sculptor Myron, why should no work have survived of one of the earlier artists who were also famous, and of one of whom (Pythagoras of Rhegion) we know that he gained a victory over Myron, his younger contemporary, with an athlete statue?<sup>1</sup> And if furthermore we take into account that, as has been mentioned above, the only single statues besides architectural groups and gods were athlete statues, and if we but glance into Pausanias and see how enormous was the proportion of statues commemorative of agonistic victories to the number of other works of art, our astonishment will rise to a doubt, whether it is not merely through some oversight or prejudice that archaeologists have hitherto failed to recognise athletes in many statues belonging to the archaic period of Greek art. And so it is. The reason why such statues have not yet been identified among the works belonging to pre-Pheidias art is simply that the head-dress of the Myronian Discobolos and of all later works has more or less consciously served as a criterion for the athletic character of a work.

The Attic sculptor Myron falls exactly into that period in which we should naturally suppose that the new Athenian fashion had transfused art, and his personal character as it manifests itself through his works was exactly of the stamp to delight in introducing an innovation. After Myron we may always expect short hair with athletes, before Myron we may expect long hair. But, as I have said, archaeologists have never looked for athletes in pre-Myronic works, and so it has come to pass that a certain type of head with the hair disposed in two braids wound round and fastened on the top, has crept into literature as a type of an Apollo. Now I have only found two cases in which this head-dress undoubtedly belongs to a god.

<sup>1</sup> 'Pancratiaste Delphis posito, *Hist.* xxxiv. 59. eodem vicit (Myronem).—Plin., *Nat.*

The one instance is the youthful Apollo on a relief in the Capitol,<sup>1</sup> an instance first noticed by Conze; and the other is a Hermes on a coin from Aenos.<sup>2</sup> Yet in the first case we have the youthful Apollo in an assembly of gods *at home* as it were, and he is then no longer the god, but the ephebe beside Zeus. The artist did well to distinguish him by this means from the other gods who have long hair. In the second instance, Hermes wears the petasos, and this sufficiently indicates the god Hermes; while the very petasos shows that he is in action, and there he impresses the human, working side of his person, and then he properly arranges his hair to suit his swift vocation. In both these cases the gods are conceived in their most human aspect, while the environment or the petasos indicates their character with sufficient clearness. In all other cases the god Apollo is distinguished from statues of human beings by the ornamental treatment of his hair. He has long curls. So in the above-mentioned Apollo of Kanachos, in the similar marble head in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> on the numerous vase pictures and reliefs,<sup>4</sup> representing the contest between Apollo and Heracles for the Delphic tripas; so also in the Eidolon of Apollo on a bas-relief representing a 'fatto di Paride.'<sup>5</sup> Frequently, especially when in action, Apollo wears the braid twisted round his head, but this dry and 'every-day' appearance is always mitigated either by a curl,<sup>6</sup> however short, or by a swelling mass of hair on the back of the head,<sup>7</sup> a com-

<sup>1</sup> Conze, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, p. 15; Braun, *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie*, taf. 5; Kekulé, *Bullettino dell' Inst. di corrisp. arch.*, 1866, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler d. alten Kunst*, ii. pl. 28, 302.

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck, *Geschichte der Griech. Plastik*, vol. i. p. 109; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, &c., i. pl. xv. 61; cf. Millin, *Pierres gravées*, pl. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Though many of these representations may not be genuinely *archaic*, but, later imitations of the *archaic*, what is called *archaistic*, this does not affect their importance, as the imitator had the *archaic* before him. I shall deal with this question at greater length in the course of our inquiry.

<sup>5</sup> Guattani, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, Roma, 1784-5.

<sup>6</sup> Archaic silver coins of Leontini, v. laureate, hair short over forehead in formal curls over temple, plaited behind, with long curls falling behind the ear. The curl is to be noticed in coins even of later type. In the one belonging to the best period the curl is very short. Catal. coins in British Museum. Sicily.

<sup>7</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite Céramographique*, ii. pl. 57, 55, 5. A marble head recently found in Rome represents the type of an Apollo with the braid, but there is something soft and luxurious in the rest of the hair, and he has a curl on the side.

promise between short and long hair which counteracts the compactness which we consider characteristic of early athlete figures. Even in later art Apollo retains his long hair, which varies in its arrangement with the fashions of different places. But unless a fashion in head-dress, like that of the Apollo Belvedere, prevail, or unless he is represented as a boy, as in the Apollo Sauroktonos, the long curl generally remains his characteristic. It is Hermes, if any god, who in later times partakes more and more of the athlete type, even in the arrangement of the hair; but this not earlier than the age of Praxiteles.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, though we notice that while on festive occasions (as may be seen on archaic vase representations) and in solemn moments (as on the archaic Peloponnesian sepulchral stele,<sup>2</sup> men wear their hair long; yet in moments of physical exertion or moments preceding it, in warlike contests, and especially in athletic sports, the braid wound round the head prevails.<sup>3</sup> Athletes on black-figured vases, and even on the red-figured of the severer order, all have this head-dress, though the technical execution in indicating the details of the hair does not belong to the earliest vase-painters, and is not added by those who in later times imitated the conventionally archaic. The drawings are merely in outline, and the braid is generally indicated in the outline by an elevation in the back, or on the top of the head. There are, however, many instances in which the typical head-dress is clearly given. The finest instance of this is the Achilles with Briseis on the beautiful vase in the Vatican published by Gerhard (Plate VI.).<sup>4</sup> Achilles stands in armour without his helmet, the type of a strong youth, while the artistic style of the work leads us to a period shortly before Pheidias. We notice the same in an Achilles on another vase, 'Ira di Achille,'<sup>5</sup> formerly in the Campana collection, and now

<sup>1</sup> On the François vase all the gods have long hair.

<sup>2</sup> Dressel and Milchhoefer, *Mith. d. deutsch. arch. Instituts in Athen*, II., p. 301, seq., Taf. 20 & 24; also Milchhoefer iii. p. 163; Overbeck, *G. d. Gr. Pl.* i. p. 83, 84, 85.

<sup>3</sup> I have found one instance, in a small bronze in the British Museum, in which a youth is represented with long hair, like the Apollo of Tenea,

holding a discus in his hand. In the lighter sports there may not have been the need of the typically athletic arrangement of hair. This would even tend to throw some doubt upon the 'Apollo character' of another group of archaic statues.

<sup>4</sup> *Ausgewählte Vasenbilder*, iii. Tf. 184.

<sup>5</sup> *Monumenti dell' Instit. di corr. arch.* vol. vi. tav. 19, also on tav. 20; E. Braun, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1858, pp. 374-383.

at Paris. There is also a young man with arms, about to take leave of his father; painted by the vase painter Duris.<sup>1</sup> The same occurs also on an Athenian Lekythos, published by De Witte,<sup>2</sup> on a vase picture published by Panofka,<sup>3</sup> on several others published by Gerhard,<sup>4</sup> and on many others.

In marble we meet with this mode of wearing the hair in the pedimental statues from the temple of Athene of Aegina. Most of the warriors wear helmets, but even then we can perceive this arrangement, and it is especially clear in the forward-striding nude figure without a helmet from the western pediment. The two figures on either corner of the pediments, it is true, have long hair, but then they are wounded and dying, and by their action, as well as their position, are literally *hors de combat*. Artistic reasons, such as variety and harmony in the relaxed lines of the figures, must also have prompted the sculptor to make this change. We have mentioned before that earlier Greek art did not represent single statues of warriors, and that we only meet with groups. The only single statues are gods and athletes. Were the early artist to render a warrior in a single statue, he would always represent him armed and with his helmet. In active combat the warrior is an armed and seriously aggressive athlete, and no doubt the sculptor studied in the palaestra the attitudes he rendered in his group.

Besides the numerous vase pictures which represent athletes with the braid, so numerous that it is needless to attempt at enumerating them, we also find a similar head-dress on a gem representing an athlete.<sup>5</sup> But what is most conclusive is the evidence afforded by statues. In the Palazzo dei Conservatori there is a mutilated marble figure with braided hair, with legs drawn up, and what remains of the arms extended, so that this figure evidently represents a charioteer. This instance still admits of debate, but not so two bronzes from the numismatic cabinet in Vienna,<sup>6</sup> one of which is reproduced on Plate V., Fig. 1. Here we have a figure with a discus, undoubtedly an athlete,

<sup>1</sup> *Mon.* vol. viii. tav. 41; Roulez, *Annali*, 1867, pp. 157, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazette archéologique*, 1867, p. 141, pl. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Vasenbilder*, Taf. i. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, Taf. 13, 14, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Visconti, i. p. 276, and pl. A. iv. 7. Winckelmann, *Mon. ant. inedit.* No. 106; *Gemme Stockmar.* p. 348.

<sup>6</sup> Von Sacken, *Die antiken Bronzen des k. k. Münzcab. in Wien*, Taf. 45, fig. i., und Taf. 37, fig. 4.

and with the head-dress most clearly indicated. Besides these two bronzes I found several others corresponding exactly to them in the bronze room of the British Museum. A similar discobolos is also published by E. Braun.<sup>1</sup> Single heads of this type occur very frequently: the Neapolitan bronze head, a marble head in the Sala Chiaramonti of the Vatican Museum, another in the British Museum from Cyrene (Hellenic Room No. 53), and two in the Museum of Berlin.<sup>2</sup> One of these two heads (Plate V., Fig. 5) is of special interest. Conze says of it that there is great negligence in the execution of the braid, that it can hardly be recognised as hair; in fact it seems to me to be more of a mixture of a braid and an ornamented band, almost partaking more of the character of the latter. Now I venture to formulate an hypothesis in connexion with this head, but I must impress upon the reader the purely hypothetical character of it. The band was originally not an essentially athletic attribute. The wreath, of which there were different kinds for the different local games, and the palm-branch were the original prizes, while the band was a general article of adornment used on many other occasions. It is only in later times that it became so general in art as an athletic attribute, and I believe that it was from a desire to compensate the eye, which had grown accustomed to the line round the head from the time of braids, that the band was freely adopted. The Berlin head would be the monumental boundary-line of the transition from one custom to the other, and though it has a band, the band is decorated with a zig-zag line as a reminder of the antiquated braid.

The evidence, both literary and monumental, which I have adduced with regard to the head-dress of statues belonging to the period previous to Myron leads us without fail to conclude that *if a statue has no long hair or ornamental attributes, such as curls, it is in all probability not an Apollo; and if the hair is arranged in two braids on the back of the head, wound round and fastened on the top, the statue is in all probability that of an athlete.*

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.* vol. ii. tav. 29, and *Annali*, 1836, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Conze, *Beiträge*, &c., Taf. viii.

## II.

THE so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum<sup>1</sup> (Plate IV.), one of the finest Greek statues in the Museum, evidences in its technical execution a style later than the works of Kanachos. Upon examining this statue we are first and chiefly impressed with the high muscular development, with the physical power of the youthful figure. Nay, apart from the heavy youths considered to be replicas of the Polycleitian Doryphoros and Diadumenos, there is hardly another athlete statue which represents so strong a man. There can be no doubt as to the intention of the artist: he desired to fashion a statue whose chief characteristic was to be physical strength. The long hair is neatly and firmly plaited into two braids, which are wound round the head and are tightly fastened together on the top: the head-dress which we have found to be typically that of an athlete before the time of Myron. This suffices to show that the statue is not an Apollo, but an athlete.<sup>2</sup> It will become more evident the further we proceed. It is also a signal confirmation that a statue on the staircase of the Uffizi in Florence,<sup>3</sup> stupidly restored with a short staff in the one hand and a shield in the other, has been generally considered an athlete, and by some even a Doryphoros of Polycleitos, simply because it has a head with short hair, which does not originally belong to the statue at all. Anybody with a trained eye will immediately recognise that the body of this statue, so far as it is genuinely antique, is exactly the same as the London statue, and the other replicas which we shall consider hereafter. The attitude, the outline of the figure, the bodily proportions, the technical handling of the surface, the modelling of the

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of ancient sculpture in the British Museum, vol. ii. pl. v.; Conze, *Beiträge*, Taf. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Clarac (vol. iii. pl. 482, 931H. Text, vol. iii. p. 213), who is relatively unprejudiced, expresses his doubt whether this be an Apollo and not an athlete: 'ce pourrait être un athlète.' The Capitoline replica he simply calls

an athlete.

<sup>3</sup> Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien. Griechische Ephebenstatue*, p. 8, No. 27. I subsequently find that Dütschke has also noticed that the head does not belong to the statue, and that he points to a relation between this statue and the 'Apollo on the Omphalos.'

muscles, down to the peculiar flatness of the abdomen and the straight line that marks the beginning of the pubes, the back and the strongly prominent nates, the peculiar form of the navel and the strong accentuation of certain veins—all is identical in both.

But that the London statue is an Apollo has been fastened into the minds of archaeologists by the fact that it has been published and discussed by Conze (*Beiträge*, ii.), in connexion with the almost identical statue in the Patissia Museum of Athens known as the Apollo on the Omphalos<sup>1</sup> (Plate V., Fig. 3), and that it has since then been looked upon as a kind of replica of that statue. The truth is that the London, the Athenian, and the Florentine statues are co-ordinate in artistic excellence, and that they most probably are replicas of an original which, to judge from traces in the marble in the treatment of the hair, from a certain sharpness in the modelling of the brows and bones, and other subtle indications, was most probably of bronze. The other replica mentioned by Conze<sup>2</sup> is in the Capitoline Museum,<sup>3</sup> and is of inferior workmanship.

Now if the Athenian statue really was on an omphalos, then it most likely was an Apollo, and at all events could not have been an athlete. I was fortunate enough to find the statue and the omphalos which is supposed to have served as its base separate in the Museum, and I immediately convinced myself and others by the simplest means (namely, by standing on the omphalos in the position of the 'Apollo') that they do not belong together. But as statements once printed have a strange power of clinging, and as a mere personal assertion on my part will not suffice to disprove an opinion now generally adopted,<sup>4</sup> I hope to prove

<sup>1</sup> Pervanoglu, *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1862, p. 168, *seq.*; Köhler, *Bull.* 1865, p. 134; Lützwow in *L.'s Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1868, p. 24, 1869, p. 283; Kekulé, *Beschreib. d. Thesions*, p. 36, No. 70, in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1869, p. 85, ff.; also *Die Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos, &c.*, p. 41; Schwabe, *De Apolline in Omphalo, Programm.* Dorpat, 1870; Bursian, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1869, p. 592.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* taf. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, 862, 2189.

<sup>4</sup> Köhler says, (*l.c.*): 'Un nuovo esame dei due pezzi ci ha verificato pienamente questa congettura, di modo che anche sulla denominazione della statua non può cadere più alcun dubbio.' This is a step from the probable to the certain; for Pervanoglu, who first wrote about the statue (see previous note), merely says, 'Al quale (Apolline) forse potrebbe aver appartenuto un onfalo di marmo bianco,' &c.

it conclusively with the assistance of the exact illustrations (Plate V.).

Now, in the first place, the circumstances of the discovery are far from furnishing any evidence that the statue and the omphalos belong to one another. It is generally assumed that they were found together. But Conze himself says (p. 14): 'Es ist zuzugeben, dass eine volle durch äussere Umstände erwiesene Sicherheit für die Zusammengehörigkeit nicht vorhanden ist. Namentlich darf Köhlers Ausdruck, der Omphalos sei nahe bei der Figur gefunden worden, nicht dafür geltend gemacht werden. Der Vorsteher der Alterthümer in Athen Eustratiadis hat mir vielmehr auf meine Anfrage durch Postolakkas mittheilen lassen, der Omphalos sei ausserhalb der Orchestra zwischen den parallelen Mauern der westlichen Parados, die Statuenstücke seien hinter den mittleren Inschriftsesseln [of the theatre of Dionysos], beide Theile also doch in einigem Abstände von einander, aufgegraben.' If the Greeks who were present during the excavations, and had the supervision over them, state that the statue was found within, the omphalos without, the walls of the theatre, some distance apart, then no great weight can be attached to the mere conjecture that they were connected. It would be different if the foot-marks on the omphalos did really, as has been asserted, correspond to the position of the legs of the 'Apollo' so far as they are preserved. But this is not the case. In the first place, the feet, as indicated on the omphalos, would be too small for the statue, but furthermore, what is most manifest, the feet of the 'Apollo' could not have stood in that position. On the omphalos the left foot was nearer the centre than the right foot, while the left leg of the statue is projected beyond the right leg, and so the left foot would have been nearer the circumference of the omphalos—nay, would have projected beyond it, that is, it would partly, yet firmly, have rested on nothing. In the drawing (Plate V., Fig. 6), the outline shows the footprints as they are, the broken line(- - -) the position of the right foot as it ought to be according to the position of the ankle of the statue as it is now placed on the omphalos in the cast copies of many museums in Germany, the dotted line (. . . .) as the left foot ought to be, if the right foot of the statue corresponded to the position of the right foot on the omphalos. At all events it becomes evident

that, if one of the feet of the statue held the position of the corresponding foot on the omphalos, then the other foot could not have corresponded.

It is difficult to see, moreover, how another circumstance did not at once serve to show the impossibility of the received view. On the right leg on the left side, somewhat towards the back, a piece of marble runs from above the knee to below the middle of the calf (Plate V., Fig. 4). Conze draws the following conclusion: because the statue 'doubtless belongs to the omphalos, this addition can surely not have been the connection with the stem of a tree attached to the statue' (as is the case with all the other copies and with most marble statues of this kind), 'for there are no traces of a tree stump on the omphalos behind the right foot.' It is strange when we compare with the premiss to this conclusion the passage several lines below in which the author says, that in placing the cast in the Museum of Halle, he followed the assumption that the omphalos and the statue belonged together, and that 'this attempt had made the assumption even more probable.' Pervanoglu thinks it probable that the statue and omphalos belong together; but he entirely forgets that he before said, '*Le braccia pendevano allato del corpo, e da alcuni vestigii riconoscibili dietro al piede destro risulta esser ivi stato un tronco forse d' albero, come spesso lo troviamo in statue reputate copie d' originali di metallo.*'

Conze supposes this projection to have been the rest for an attribute which the statue held in its right hand, but it is too large for this purpose and too far back. It decidedly was the bridge which attached the statue to the stem of a tree, and which the artist placed between the tree and the body (as is frequently the case), to give as much as possible of the roundness of form. But there is no room for a stem on the omphalos, apart from there being no vestiges of such an appendage. This was also seen by Bursian (*l. c.*); but he furnishes an instance of how difficult it is to dissociate two things that have been bound together with printed paper. Because the Apollo could not have stood *on* the omphalos, therefore he assumes that the Apollo stood beside the omphalos, and another statue, perhaps an Orestes seeking propitiation, stood on the omphalos.

The statue has, in fact, nothing whatever to do with the omphalos. The position of the legs is the same in the London

and in the Athenian statue; and I shall mention a final test, which, together with what has been already said, will, I hope, once for all clear the statue of any connexion with the representation of the sacred omphalos of the earth at Delphi. I suspended a plumb-line from the parting in the hair on the forehead of the London statue, and found that the lead touched the right half of the great toe of the right foot; the line applied to the cast of the Athenian statue in Munich, here placed on the omphalos, showed that the lead fell slightly over two inches from the great toe of the right foot-mark on the omphalos towards the mark of the left foot. As there might be some slight difference in the position of the head in these two replicas, and to verify any resulting inaccuracy, I let the perpendicular fall from the middle of the navel in the London statue, which fell about half an inch to the (our) right of the great toe of the right foot, while applied to the Athenian statue it fell slightly over three inches from the right footmark.

The omphalos is therefore fairly got rid of, and we may now return to the consideration of this athlete statue. The question now arises, to what class of athletes does this representation belong?

The intention of the sculptor to present the heavy type of strength is so manifest in the London statue that, negatively, we cannot consider him to belong to the category of light athletes, those, namely, of the pentathlon; and the sculptor who could make such a statue undoubtedly had the power to distinguish different types of men. This statue belongs to the heavier genus of athletes, the boxer or the pancratiast. In the earliest period, as we have mentioned before, the artists were not able to confer individual character upon their statues, and the difficulty must have been greatest in cases where a spear or a discus, or halteres, could not be added as attributes to make the nature of the athlete clear. This kind of athlete had to be expressed in the figure itself. In reading Pausanias we notice that the greatest number of statues of Olympian and other victors which he mentions were pancratiasts and pugilists; but no pancratiast and no early pugilist has as yet been identified, because they were wanting in so simple an attribute as the discus. Such an athlete could, however, clearly be indicated; not as the *distortus* and *elaboratus* of some of the pugilist statues of later times, but by

the sculptor's power of expression by means of the bodily *rhythm* even in quiet attitudes. On vase figures we generally see them in action, and there is no difficulty in indicating them; but these very vase figures show us an attitude characteristic of these games, one which is not restless and dramatic, but is most suitable for plastic art. It is in figures representing the ephedros. Before a contest the combatants drew lots, and each pair that had drawn the same letter fought; but if there was an uneven number of combatants, the third had to wait until the two had finished, and then he fought the victor. This man was called the ephedros (Plate VI., Fig. 2), and he is represented on vase pictures<sup>1</sup> waiting, while two are boxing or wrestling, in a peculiar attitude which seems to have been characteristic of a heavy athlete. This position is the same as in the statues we are discussing. The ephedros stands firmly, while the upper part of the body, chest, shoulders, and arms are especially accentuated. Involuntarily the eye of the spectator was drawn to those parts which were of greatest importance in this sport, and when highly developed were the chief characteristics of a pugilist or a pancratiast. The shoulders are drawn back and the chest protrudes, while, by this movement, the skin is tightly drawn over the ribs, which therefore become conspicuous. All lines of the statue converge towards the chest, as in the Pallas of Velletri all lines meet in the forehead. This will account for certain characteristics which Köhler ascribes especially to the archaism in the work, when he says (*l. c.*): 'Il carattere arcaico si manifesta soprattutto nell' *attitudine* della figura, che è quella di un uomo, che con stento tocca le braccia e le spalle in dietro di modo che il petto sporge al di fuori, mentre le parti di dietro fui là dove finisce la schiena sono molto incurvate.' The veins, which are, in any case, accentuated with a certain exaggeration, are most visible and protruding on the shoulder and upper arm, a means, in the early times, of indicating which parts are momentarily or habitually more especially exerted. On the

<sup>1</sup> Laborde, *Vases de Lamberg*, i. pl. 74; Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. vii. A relief in Clarac (i. pl. 200, 271), though very late in style, shows how the chest was drawn back.—*Mus. Bouillon*, t. iii. suppl. pl. 2. No. 15; Jahn, *Beschr. d. Vas. Sam. K. Ludw. I.*,

No. 787, 497. The illustration which we give of an ephedros does not correspond to the statue with regard to the position of the feet; in the other instances from vases which we quote, and in many not quoted, the position is the same even in this respect.

figures from the western pediment of the temple of Aegina the veins are not generally indicated. But in a few instances, as the so-called Achilles,<sup>1</sup> as Brunn has remarked, they are indicated on the right arm to suggest the exertion of the wounded warrior who is struggling to rise.

The question then is narrowed to this: is this athlete a pancratiast or a pugilist? At first I supposed that the statue represented a victor in the pancration, the game which, as the name indicates, demanded the greatest strength. The pancration<sup>2</sup> was a combination of wrestling and boxing: the combatants could use their hands and feet, they fought standing, and continued fighting while on the ground; it was the most violent of contests, easily became brutal, and not unfrequently brought on the death of a combatant.<sup>3</sup> A very favourite and advantageous method seems to have been for a pancratiast to get his adversary in what is called with us 'in chancery,'<sup>4</sup> to catch the

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Beschreibung der kgl. Glyptothek zu München*, No. 60, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Annali*, ii. 1830, Gerhard, p. 215, 216, &c.; *Monumenti*, pl. xxii. 56, s. 6; also on bronze vase, *Mon.* v. pl. 25 (1857); Clarac, ii. 616, 17, i. pl. 200, 271; Bouillon, vol. iii. suppl. pl. ii. No. 15. The Florence group of 'wrestlers' is also a scene from the pancration, *Reale Galleria di Fir.* ser. iv. vol. iii., pl. 122.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 8, cap. 40.

<sup>4</sup> On an archaic tazza, *Annali*, *ib.* 1878, p. 34, tav. D., Heracles has the Titan Anteus in chancery; the same Heracles and the lion (Gerhard, *Auser. Vasenb.* iv. Taf. 266), and Theseus and the Minotaur (Gerh. *Auser. Vasenb.* vol. iii. Taf. 160 and 161). Prof. Colvin directed my attention to a vase published by Heydemann (third in *Halb'sches Winkelman's Programm*) in which a Lapitha holds a Centaur in a similar position. Cf. also, Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensamml. König Ludwig's I.*, No. 307, 476, 1199, on which vases with mythological combats even the ephedros appears. Motives from the palaestra were transferred to

mythological scenes to illustrate the contest for which the vase was a prize. I take this opportunity to make one general hypothetical remark which is of importance for the general method of vase interpretation, and which space will not allow me to deal with at greater length. The Greek vases of better quality may be classed, according to their original destination, into two great classes, sepulchral and agonistic. The sepulchral vases were meant to be placed within the graves; the agonistic vases contained the oil which was given as a prize to the victors in the games. A third class may be added, namely, those that were given as presents between lovers. I do not refer to common vessels that were used to convey oil and merchandise. I doubt whether these were ornamented in an artistic style. Now the illustrations were influenced by their destination. A sepulchral vase destined for the grave of a youth would be decorated, *e.g.* on the one side with a scene from the Triptolemos myth; on the other side it may have *genre*-scenes from the life of a Greek youth, as I have shown in the Poniatowski vase.

opponent's neck in the one arm, and to strike with the fist of the other hand. What chiefly distinguishes the pancratiast from the pugilist is the caestus, which the boxer always has in artistic illustrations, though there are a few cases in which pancratiasts (evidently from the fact of their using their hands to wrestle, and not only to strike) also have the caestus; but these are quite exceptional. The pancratiast is distinguished from the wrestler in that he strikes. A frequent motive is that of one of the combatants catching the leg of his adversary with the one hand, and giving him a blow with the other, as, for instance, on the above quoted vase of Lamberg, published by Laborde. The pugilist is typically indicated in illustrations, in that he is merely striking, and has the caestus.<sup>1</sup> In the earliest times the caestus corresponded somewhat to our boxing-gloves; it was called *μελίχη*,<sup>2</sup> and was not meant to enhance the severity of the blow, but, as the name indicates, to avoid pain to the striker, and perhaps even to weaken the blow for the one struck. The next stage, still belonging to the early period, which probably continued till near the decadence, was the stiff thong of hide, *ἰμάς ὀξύς*, which doubtless more effectually spared the fingers and knuckles of the boxer. The boxer generally covered his hand and wrist with some soft material and fastened it by winding the thong round: he placed one end of the thong longitudinally along the wrist, and then wound it tight round the wrist and the hand, passing the other end through the palm of the hand. On a

For the graves of warriors fallen in battle, corresponding scenes from the Trojan war, &c. In the case of athletic vases, even in the mythological scenes, attitudes and situations will be chosen from the game for which they were offered as prizes. Jahn etc. 584, has a representation of the contest between Peleus and Atalante, while the back is decorated with a scene from a *πυγμή*. The *καλός*, or *παῖς καλός*, seems to me to be a token of approbation and congratulation for the winner, the recipient of the vase. Vases as gifts between lovers will also be decorated with corresponding love-scenes and myths. Of course a *κύλιξ* given as a prize will appropriately be

ornamented with a convivial scene. I do not mean that this is the only and exhaustive point from which vase-pictures ought to be viewed; but what I here suggest is, that it is an important point from which to view vase-pictures, and that if it were carried out it would no doubt throw much new light on these representations.

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations, cf. Inghirami, *Pitture di Vasi Fittili*, vol. iii. tav. 232; Clarac, pl. 851, 2180 A; 1788, 855, 2182; 856, 2180, 858, 2181, 858 d, 2187 a, &c.; Gerhard, *Auserw. Vasenb.* iv. Taf. 272 and 271; Jahn, 411.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. viii, 40.

Panathenaic vase published by De Witte,<sup>1</sup> a *πυγμή* is represented, and an ephedros is standing on one side of the combatants, holding his hand to his lips, evidently in the act of pulling the end of the thong between his teeth to tighten it round his hand, which is covered with some cloth or skin. This kind of caestus I believe to have been prevalent during the early Greek age, while it is to the decadence and brutalisation of athletic games that the barbarous caestus of Roman ages belongs, which was furnished with leaden and iron balls,

‘Terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant ;’

(Verg. *Aen.* v. 405) ;

and with which defeat produced results as described by Vergil (*Aen.* v. 468),

‘Ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem,  
Iactantemque utroque caput, crassumque cruorem  
*Ore eiectantem, mistosque in sanguine dentes,*  
*Ducunt ad naves.*’

On the tree stump of the London statue there runs a band or strap about half an inch in width, and about two and a half feet in length. This strap puzzled archaeologists, especially as they considered the statue to be an Apollo. I at first supposed that it was meant to represent a victor's band ; but I found that the artist of the statue could have indicated far more clearly the texture of a band, and here there is a decided intention to render the stiff texture of leather, while the thickness and narrowness would not suit a band. It immediately became clear to me that we here have to deal with the leather thong, the *ἰμάς ὀξύς*, which shows this athlete to be a pugilist.

If, finally, I were to attempt a restoration of this statue, I should give him in his left hand a palm-branch, which would account for the notch on the side of his left leg near the knee. The Athenian statue has a similar remnant of marble, which shows that he also held a long attribute in his left hand. The palm-branch was one of the essential prizes awarded to

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenti dell' Inst.* vol. x. tav. 48. The ephedros quoted above from Gerhard's *Antike Bildwerke*, Taf. vii. is to the left of the two boxers who have caestus ; on the right is the agonodikes.

This ephedros holds a thong in his left hand (the *ἰμάς ὀξύς*), while his right hand is violently drawn back as if about to strike a heavy blow.

victors in all the games<sup>1</sup> and they are frequently represented on vase-figures (e.g. on the one above-mentioned, published by De Witte) bearing it. Though it could easily and lastingly be given to bronze figures (of which material the athlete statues generally were), it was most easily broken in marble statues. But if a hand with a piece of a palm-branch was found by one of the restorers during the Renaissance in Italy, and even were found to-day, it would be considered a 'pezzo d'arco' of an Apollo; for the tendency prevails to see in every youthful male figure an Apollo, as nearly all the female figures are termed *Venere*.

It now remains to ask, to what period does this pugilist belong? Several of the above mentioned writers on this statue have considered the archaic elements in it to be conventional, and not genuine; what is called archaistic, or '*archaisirend*,' in contradistinction to archaic.

Ever since statues like the Dresden Athene<sup>2</sup> and the Neapolitan Artemis<sup>3</sup> have been found, in which the intentional rendering of imperfections belonging to early art is manifestly connected with considerable power of freedom in execution, and especially since Kekulé<sup>4</sup> has traced the eclectic style of Pasiteles in the work of one of his pupils, Stephanos, these discoveries, as is so frequently the case, have led to extremes, so that archaeologists nowadays see '*archaisiren*' and Pasiteles in a disproportionately great number of ancient statues. This exaggeration cannot but be harmful to the investigation of the style of ancient works. Those who merely look for *archaising* forget one important factor in the copies of the Greek originals from the Roman era which have come down to us—namely, what may be termed *modernising*. Anybody at all acquainted with the peculiarities of 'old masters' knows how difficult it is for artists of a later time to copy exactly the works of their fore-

<sup>1</sup> Paus. viii. 48; Vitruv. Preface to lib. ix. In the Patissia Museum at Athens there is an unfinished marble statue of a young athlete who holds a palm-branch in his hand. In this case the palm has withstood the effect of time, because the statue is merely blocked out, and all presented one firm mass.

<sup>2</sup> Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Pl.* i. p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Raoul Rochette, *Peintures de Pompeii*, pl. 5, and Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Pl.* i. p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Annali*, 1865, p. 56 *seqq.*, 'Statua Pompeiana di Apolline,' and in his above-quoted work on the *Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos*.

fathers : modern and subjective elements will invariably creep into the work of the copyist. This is most evident in copies from the paintings of old Italian masters. But it can be seen even if we compare the various replicas of the same work in ancient marbles which lead back to a common original, as, for instance, the Discobolos of Myron, the Boy with the Goose, the Thorn-Extractor, &c. We then see how they vary, how the hair—nay, even the position of the head, varies in the Discobolos in the Palazzo Massimi in Rome, and the one in the British Museum. And these works in the original moreover did not belong to the markedly archaic class whose characteristics are so difficult to imitate, because they belong to a period so remote and essentially different in spirit from the age of the copyist. A very clever copyist will be able to avoid to some degree this discord between the modern and the ancient. A comparison, even hasty, between our statue and the ephebe by Stephanos and the manifestly Pasitelean statues will immediately show that there is not the slightest relation between them.

The simple fact that there exist four replicas of this work proves that it could not have come from the studio of an obscure imitator, but leads us back, in all probability, to a famous Greek original. An archaeologist in whose artistic tact and thoroughness I have the greatest faith objected to me that he found a lack of unity in the 'Apollo of the Omphalos' which made him doubt its genuine archaism. With this feeling I can thoroughly sympathise, and it can readily be accounted for. Thus an *athlete* on an *omphalos* is in itself a contradiction which robs the statue of its unity of composition. The first stimulus to this inquiry was the feeling of incongruity which I experienced upon seeing the London statue with the subscription 'Apollo.' Then again the head-dress, which was not accounted for, and furthermore, the attitude, which seems constrained unless we recognise the intention expressed in it, must produce such an impression. And finally, this statue, as will become clearer, belongs to that very period of transition from the archaic to the greatest freedom, in which we necessarily must assume a mixture of the two elements. On the one hand the head-dress, the peculiar formation of the navel (not perpendicular, but the lower half running inward, and furnished, as it were, with an eyelid—this peculiarity is in all the replicas), the flatness of the

abdomen, the straight line of the pubes, the swelling glutæi, &c.,—all these are archaic elements. On the other hand, the general modelling and the rhythmical treatment of the whole figure are not far from the perfection of the masterpieces of Phœdrias. Whoever has studied the anatomical proportions of the human body cannot fail to see that there is the greatest organic unity in this work.<sup>1</sup>

According to its execution it cannot be of earlier origin than the Aeginetan marbles, and not later than the Discobolos of Myron. Conze and several other archaeologists have thought it probable that the Apollo was the work of the sculptor Kalamis, whose life falls within this epoch, and he conjectures that it may be a replica of the Apollo Alexikakos<sup>2</sup> in Athens by that sculptor. But this statue has not the *μειδίαμα σερμνὸν καὶ λεληθός*,<sup>3</sup> not the softness and sweetness which is chiefly characteristic of this sculptor. A small Athenian altar with relief, which Overbeck<sup>4</sup> believes to illustrate the style of Kalamis, together with a Calabrian terra-cotta representing Hermes and Aphrodite with Eros in her arms, published by Michaelis,<sup>5</sup> may give us an impression of what the style of Kalamis was like. Far more unfounded is the recent assertion of Furtwaengler<sup>6</sup> that the "Omphalos Apollo corresponds to the style of Alcámenes." In fact the style of our statue is not purely Attic; it has a large admixture of the Peloponnesian severity and dryness, while again it cannot be classed among the Peloponnesian works, and cannot be ascribed to any of the artists of Argos and Sikyon. By this negative method of exclusion there remains but one sculptor in this age, Pythagoras of Rhegion, famous for his athlete statues, who was neither an Attic nor a Peloponnesian sculptor.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot refrain from quoting the exclamation of an artist of repute upon examining the London statue in my presence; it was: 'Mantegna!'

<sup>2</sup> Paus. i. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Lucian, *Imag.* 6. Cf. Overbeck, *Antiken Schriftquellen zur Gesch. d.*

*bild. Künstler bei den Griechen.* Pp. 95, 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*, i. p. 219.

<sup>5</sup> *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867, tav. d'agg. D.

<sup>6</sup> *Mittheilungen des deutschen archæolog. Instituts in Athen*, 1880, p. 37.

## III.

PYTHAGORAS of Rhegion<sup>1</sup> flourished between the 70th and 80th Olympiad. We have two fixed dates on his works, Ol. 73, and Ol. 77. Pliny's statement that he flourished in the 90th Olympiad, is decidedly an error, and is to be attributed (as Brunn has shown) to his assumption that, as Pythagoras was contemporary with Myron, and Myron with Polycleitos, Pythagoras lived as late as the latter. According to Pausanias,<sup>2</sup> he was a pupil of Klearchos, who again was a pupil of Eucheiros of Corinth, whose master was Syadras of Sparta. He is chiefly known and praised for his athlete statues. And that this was his strong point is evident from the simple fact that of his fourteen statues which are mentioned by ancient authors, eight were of athletes, while of the remaining six, two again, the winged Perseus<sup>3</sup> and the contest between Eteokles and Polyneikes,<sup>4</sup> were athletic in character. Only one female figure is mentioned as by him, the Europa on the Bull<sup>5</sup>; here we do not know enough to form any opinion. The remaining statues were probably all nude men.

It appears that he excelled in rendering the nude male form. How excellent his work was and how highly it was appreciated becomes evident not only from the fact that, as has before been quoted from Pliny, he gained a victory over Myron with his statue of a pancratiast, but from the praise which classical authors bestow upon him. If we bear in mind how sober an author Pausanias was, and how sparing he is with his praise, we can appreciate the weight of his remark on the statue of the pugilist Euthymus by Pythagoras, *θέας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος*;<sup>6</sup> and when we bear in mind that, a few lines after his high praise of the artist Pythagoras with regard to his statue of the

<sup>1</sup> Brunn, *Geschichte der Griech. Künstler*, i. pp. 132, *et seq.*; Boulé, *Histoire de l'Art grecque avant Péricles*, p. 405; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Pl.* i., p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 37, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Tatian, *c. Grace.* 54, p. 118 (ed. North).

<sup>5</sup> Tatian, *c. Grace.* 53, p. 116; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 31; Cic. *in Ferr.* iv. 60, 135.

<sup>6</sup> vi. 6, 4.

wrestler Leontiskos<sup>1</sup> (εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς πλαστικὴν), he simply says of Pheidias, ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Φειδίου σοφίας,—we can then see in what high appreciation this artist was held.

But we know that he was not merely a clever follower of his masters, but that he greatly contributed to the advancement of art, that he was an innovator. So we learn from Pliny: <sup>2</sup> *Hic primus nervos et venas expressit capillumque diligentius*. The *primus* and *πρῶτον* in such a context is not always to be translated literally 'the first,' or 'the first time,' but it means that something has been done with full consciousness, that it is a marked step in advance. The hair of our pugilist is more carefully worked out than in similar earlier or contemporary works, *e.g.* the Aeginetans. *Nervos* really means sinews, and Pliny means that he essentially advanced in the rendering of muscles and sinews. The way in which the muscles and sinews are treated in the pugilist we are dealing with is unprecedented in early art. Finally, I have already mentioned the veins as peculiarly pronounced in all the four replicas of this statue. They are no doubt exaggerated, and I have attributed this to the desire of the artist to express the habitual exertion of the upper part of the body in this person; yet even with this consideration there remains a degree of clumsiness and exaggeration in the pronounced indication of veins in this statue which points to the fact that it is a new thing. Moderation is a result of maturity. A beginner in art is apt to exaggerate in drawing and in colour; an artist who begins to indicate that which was not indicated before will render it more pronouncedly than he will later on, when he is accustomed to it. From the way in which the veins are here indicated, not only on the shoulder and the upper arm, but on the inner side of the arm down to the wrist, and on the foot (sometimes not quite with anatomical correctness) we feel that this was an early attempt. On earlier archaic statues there is no indication of veins. I have carefully examined the Aeginetan marbles, and have found that on the western pediment the indication of veins is very rare, and so to say, timidly ventured upon. Besides the Achilles there are three others who have very slight indications on parts that are

<sup>1</sup> vi. 4, 3.<sup>2</sup> 34, 59.

strained.<sup>1</sup> On the eastern pediment, however, the figures have a highly-developed system of veins, as clear as in the case of the pugilist. It is universally accepted that the temple of Athene at Aegina was built about the 75th Olympiad. Now it is also accepted that the style of the eastern pediment is far more advanced than that of the western pediment. Either there was a great revolution, or rather reformation, within the style of the artist after he had completed the western pediment, or else the older artist died before the temple was completed, and one of his younger pupils or sons who was of the 'more modern' school, completed the work of his father or master in the eastern pediment, while he in general retained the style of the western pediment, but especially in the execution of details gave way to his later acquisitions. Pythagoras was already an artist of repute in the 73rd, or at least the 74th Ol., and the striking difference in the eastern and western pediment with regard to the expression of veins justifies the hypothesis that in the western pediment the artist was not wholly under the influence of the innovation of Pythagoras, while in the eastern pediment he freely laid himself open to it.<sup>2</sup>

But this passage in Pliny is not restricted to the three points (nervos, venas, capillum) which he enumerates, but seems to express the general excellency of the modelling, the *indication of texture* in the statue of Pythagoras. And the whole weight of this dictum can only become clear to us when we bring this passage into connexion with what Diogenes Laertius says of Pythagoras:<sup>3</sup> *πρῶτον δοκοῦντα ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συμμετρίας ἐστοχάσθαι.*

I believe that those<sup>4</sup> who formerly commented on this passage, though they justly conceived its weight, were more or less unconsciously biassed by the application of the word rhythm to poetry. Rhythm, as here applied to plastic art, is not imme-

<sup>1</sup> The dying one to the left, the arm on which he rests; so also Achilles; also the second figure to left, and on the foot of the kneeling hoplite on the right side.

<sup>2</sup> Instances in which younger artists have influenced the style of their older contemporaries are frequent. I need only adduce Raphael and Francia. To

make a clear but simple chronological statement, I may merely say that Pythagoras was to his older contemporary, Onatas of Aegina, as Myron was to Pythagoras, and as Polycleitos and Pheidias were to Myron.

<sup>3</sup> viii. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Brunn and Overbeck, *l.c.*

diately connected with rhythm in poetry,<sup>1</sup> and at all events plastic rhythm does not derive its meaning from poetic rhythm with the Greeks.

The word *ῥυθμός*, in the first instance, is to be translated simply by 'flow.' While symmetry is an architectural idea, the exact accordance between the two halves of one body, which forms the essential quality of architecture, rhythm is a plastic idea, has its essence in a certain deviation from this absolute equality, and is the characteristic of sculpture. Symmetry implies and expresses the lasting, uniform and inorganic; rhythm implies change, the organic, as sculpture deals with animal life. Life manifests itself to our senses in motion, flow, and change; life is individual, and the individual consists in a deviation from the absolutely regular. Archaic sculpture was too architectural, and in the regularity of its figures it counteracted all appearance of individuality, and the statues did not produce the effect of vitality. It expressed symmetry to the exclusion of rhythm. The innovation of Pythagoras was, that he added this flowing, irregular element to art, and thereby contributed to the appearance of vitality. But he kept within the bounds of what is pleasing to the human eye, which demands a certain regularity; and though he furthered rhythm, he did not do it to the exclusion of symmetry. While infusing the greatest life into his statues, he kept within the bounds of what we should call plastic *composition*, in which certain elements of living nature are eliminated, others accentuated, and all are bound together by the unity of form. This harmony between life and form is the most characteristic feature of Greek art.

Now within this general definition of rhythm and its relation to symmetry, we can distinguish several stages:

a. Vitality is in the first place given to the statue by means of the *continuous flow* of the surface. Each smallest part of the surface in a good statue must have the resemblance of moving and vibrating like the skin of a real body, which never presents a geometrically straight line, but is a *continuous* succession of elevations or recessions, arsis and thesis—that is, it flows. Vitality must, as it were, stream into the clay through

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle (*Rhetor.* 3, 8) distinguishes between *μέτρον* and *ῥυθμός*, in assigning the former to poetry and the

latter to prose.—Cf. Plato, *Leg.* 2, *in D.* Dionys. Hal. *De Comp. Verbor.* lib. ii. p. 56, ed. Reiske.

the fingers of the modelling artist. The difference in this respect between Greek works and Roman copies that were made to order like mechanical ware will illustrate the difference between a statue possessed of this vitality of texture and one which is wanting in this first requisite. The statue we are dealing with, though a copy from the bronze original, is still an excellent Greek copy. Each part of the surface is carefully and thoroughly executed, and the difference in texture between the hair, the skin, and the stem of the tree is clearly indicated. To attain this effect, besides the feeling of form which must be inherent in the artist, much and intense work is needed. Hasty modelling (unless it is meant to be a sketch) can never convey vitality. The same holds good in all arts. The organic quality, the continuity of composition in literary work can only be attained when the subject has been thoroughly and for a long while revolved in the brain of the author, or has been modelled and remodelled during the process of fixing it on paper. But the texture of the surface varies in appearance in accordance with what is below it, which it covers. As it covers bone or muscle or softer material, so will its appearance be different. This difference the sculptor must indicate by means of modelling, he must look deeper than the mere superficial appearance to what anatomically lies below, as the cause of the phenomenal difference. But in poor work the muscles, joints, &c., are indicated by means of simple elevations that do not gradually rise and fall, are not intermediated—they seem *put together*; while in good work the transition is gradual, the lines are not torn asunder—all *flows together*, as in nature. An excellent instance of this is furnished by our statue, the earliest statue in which we notice this quality. Finally, each distinct part of the body has a character of its own: an arm, a leg, the neck—all have a distinguishable character in their form and texture from the torso itself, and this difference of appearance must be rendered in a good statue. The artists who made the earliest works which have come down to us could not do this. What Pliny says of Pythagoras, that he was the first clearly to express sinews and veins, and that he rendered hair more carefully, is an incomplete way (by enumeration of a few attributes for the essence of the thing) of expressing, that Pythagoras was the first to infuse vitality into his statues by means of the indication of

natural texture in the surface of the human body. And this is the first stage in the realisation of plastic *ῥιθμός*.

*b.* Rhythm, the organic quality of a work of sculpture, is furthermore to be found in the relation which subsists between the parts of the body among each other and between the parts and the body as a whole. Here symmetry begins to be manifestly and organically connected with rhythm. In the first place, no part must be out of proportion with the whole. The leg must be of a certain dimension in proportion to the arm, the neck of a certain thickness and length in comparison to the width of the shoulders, &c., and all members must bear a certain relation to the size and physical character of the whole figure. But in the second place this well-proportioned figure must not appear architectural, but must impress us with the life which is essential to the animal organism which it represents. Such life manifests itself to us in the moving power of the organism. An architectural edifice must above all impress us with its immovability; its power of lasting and remaining unchanged. This quality becomes manifest to our senses, *e.g.* in that the columns are all parallel and of equal height, so that the roof rests firmly on them. But movement in nature, physical motion, is a deviation from this absolute regularity and sameness; it is not represented by a straight line, but a spiral, wavy line—it *flows*. We notice this throughout nature; in its grosser appearance it is the system of *alternation*. A diagram of the succession of the branches of a tree shows us a spiral growth. Animals and human beings in walking move their legs alternately; nay, in walking we move the arm and the corresponding leg in an opposed direction, and this very opposition between the upper and lower half of our body is one of the chief causes of progression in walking. Now the Archaic statues of a date before our athlete have both legs firmly planted, the one before the other, and the body is equally balanced between the two. It is the same principle as that which subsists in the columns in architecture, and this adds to the impression of lifelessness which these early works convey to us; they do not suggest movement. In our statue, however, the weight is thrown upon the right leg, while the left leg is comparatively unfreighted. This is the plastic rhythm which has been introduced into this work, and

has superseded the autoeracy of architectural symmetry which reigned supreme previous to this epoch. This gives the statue the potentiality of moving, and actually gives it the appearance of inner movement to and fro, and from one leg to the other (as in the indication of texture the skin seems to vibrate), while the restful firm position on the one leg gives the monumental quiet which works of sculpture need. We shall presently see how this position of the legs in connexion with the attitude of the upper part of the body serves to give expression to a still higher stage of rhythm. The Germans express this in distinguishing between *Standbein* and *Spielbein*, the leg of rest and the leg of play; and it was generally believed, from a note in Pliny, that this was an innovation of Polycleitos. But this cannot possibly be so; for the violently moving figures of Myron, and even the Aeginetan marbles, are a stage further in the expression of motion. And yet, when Pliny says of Polycleitos, *Proprium eius est uno crure ut insisterent signa cecogitasse*,<sup>1</sup> there must be some meaning and truth in what he says, though again we need here not conceive this as if literally for the very first time such a thing had been done, but as habitually, with full consciousness and accentuation. It is clear that some innovation must have been introduced. The mere resting on one leg it cannot mean. As is so frequently the case, the monuments lead us to the correct interpretation of the literary passage. All the numerous replicas of the Doryphoros and Diadumenos of Polycleitos represent the figure as striding forward. The one leg is placed forward, while the other, merely touching the ground with the toes, is dragged behind. This is no doubt a step in advance in the expression of motion, and is much more '*uno crure insistere*,' than in our statue, where the left leg, though relatively free, still fully touches the ground and bears some part of the weight. Michaelis,<sup>2</sup> I am pleased to find, has given exactly the same interpretation to this passage.

c. The third stage, in which rhythm and vitality are expressed in statues, is in the harmony between all parts and the uniform physical character and the situation of the figure. This would be, for instance, if all the parts united to convey the impression

<sup>1</sup> *N. H.* xxxiv. 56.

*Museum*, vol. 32, p. 593, and Petersen,

<sup>2</sup> *Annali dell' Instit.* 1878, pp. 28 and 29. Cf. Blümner, in *Rhein.* *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, p. 131.

of a strong or a weak man in relaxation or exertion. This statue of a pugilist must represent a strong man, and so each part of the body is in keeping with this salient feature; an arm or leg, or a foot found alone could immediately be identified as belonging to a strong man. But it is in the way in which the parts combine to one attitude that the special nature of this athlete is expressed. He stands firmly, and we almost feel how he presses the ground with his right foot; and this is indicated in the way in which the muscle above the knee stands forth markedly, and the ankle is curved—he is pressing back the knee. The muscles of the calf are also strongly pronounced. The shoulders are pressed back in the position of the ophedros, while the chest is pressed forward. The more the chest is pressed forward, the more must the lower part of the back and the spine recede. This position, however, if we stand equally on both feet, becomes stiff and unnatural; but the exertion of the upper part of the body is compensated as soon as we throw the weight more on one leg.<sup>1</sup> This compensation of rhythm is carried still further in what may be called ‘crossed rhythm’ (*χιασμός*), to which Brunn has drawn attention in his recent article on a ‘*Tipo statuario di atleta*.’<sup>2</sup> This rhythmic compensation becomes still more evident in the fact that, while below the waist the balance of our figure dips towards the right, that of the parts above draws towards the left. The palm-branch he held in his hand no doubt added to this effect, and counteracted the heaviness in composition produced on the right side below by the tree-stem. Were we to imitate an orator projecting his left hand, we should naturally throw the weight of the body on the right leg. This is in figures in rest. In actual movement in a forward direction, the right arm will recede while the right foot advances, and *cicce resât*. This, as Brunn has pointed out, is not to be found in the earliest works. We meet this expression of rhythm for the first time in our statue. How far Pythagoras had advanced in rhythmical expression becomes evident when Pliny<sup>3</sup> tells us that the spectator almost felt the pain of

<sup>1</sup> It is most important for one who studies these questions to imitate himself the position of statues. In many cases this is the simplest method of recognising how a statue must have been, which we see in a very

fragmentary condition.

<sup>2</sup> *Annali*, 1879, p. 201, *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> xxxiv. 59. ‘Syracensis autem claudicantem, cujus ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur.’ Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, &c. No. 499.

the 'limping one' (Philoctetes) by Pythagoras. But this merely means physical pain, and not moral grief. And here we have the limit of the artistic powers of Pythagoras.

There are still higher stages in the development of plastic rhythm,<sup>1</sup> to which Pythagoras did not attain; but these belong to a later period. They are the expression of *moral* character and individual mood in plastic rhythm.

The statue of the pugilist which we have been considering affords the best illustration for the various stages of rhythm, so far as we have traced them. At the same time the pleasing outline of the composition, the symmetry of the whole, is blended in harmony with its flowing vitality. And thus the positive evidence also leads us to assign this work to Pythagoras.

If, finally, we look amongst the recorded works of this sculptor for one which corresponds to this statue, we find that we can, with the greatest hypothetical probability, consider this a copy of the statue of the pugilist Euthymos,<sup>2</sup> which Pausanias considered so worthy of admiration; we know that this statue existed in many copies.

To account for the great strength of very famous athletes, the Greeks in several instances ascribed to them divine origin. So the Thasians maintained that Heracles took the form of the

<sup>1</sup> The completion of the examination of this most important factor of plastic art I must defer to a special inquiry on rhythm.

<sup>2</sup> Since the above was written Mr. Percy Gardner has drawn my attention to an inscription from a base at Olympia, published by E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxvi. p. 83. This base belonged to the statue of Euthymos:

Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς Ἀντικλέους τρὶς Ὀλύμπι  
ἐνίκων,

εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν τήνδε βροτοῖς ἑσορᾶν.

Εὐθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε  
Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν.

'Dr. Weil mentions a cavity on the top of the base, 0.41 metres in length, probably admitting a plinth. If anything could be ascertained with regard to the position of the feet of the statue that stood on this pedestal, my hypo-

thesis would be finally verified or disproved. Pythagoras here calls himself a Samian. Pliny (xxxiv. 60) is the only author who makes two persons of the Samian and Rhegian. Ulrichs has shown some time ago (*Chrestomathia Pliniana*, p. 320) that Pythagoras belonged to the Samian emigrants who were induced by Anaxilas the tyrant of Rhegion to settle in Zankle (subsequently called Messana). This town came under the sway of Anaxilas, and so Pythagoras could naturally call himself a Samian or a Rhegian. This may have induced a Syracusan comic writer to make a jest of 'the two persons who looked so very much alike,' and this was probably the source from which Pliny gathered his information regarding the two sculptors and the striking resemblance between them.

father of the famous athlete Theagenes<sup>1</sup> and begot him. Euthymos<sup>2</sup> was reputed to be the son of the river-god Kaekinos. After death they became heroes: so the pugilists Kleomedes,<sup>3</sup> Theagenes, and Euthymos. They were then adored, as was natural, as a kind of minor gods who bestowed physical strength upon their adorers. Their statues were placed all over the country, at the roadsides, on public places, and in the gymnasia. Pausanias says of Theagenes: 'I also know that statues of Theagenes are erected in many places within and beyond Greece, and that he heals sicknesses and receives adoration as a god. The statue which he has in the Altis is by Glaukias of Aegina.' I think it not improbable that the so-called Strangford 'Apollo,'<sup>4</sup> which is doubtlessly an athlete, and in the style of work corresponds exactly to Archaic Aeginetan art of the time of Glaukias, may be a copy of the statue of Theagenes. Now Euthymos is held in equal honour. Fabulous feats, such as the expulsion of the Black Spirit who haunted Temessa (or Thempsa), are ascribed to him. Pausanias also saw an illustration of this feat on the *copy* of a painting. 'He arrived at a very advanced age (so Pausanias proceeds), and left this earth, without dying, in a peculiar manner.' He was worshipped as a hero, and, as we know from a passage in Pliny, there must have been many copies of his statue scattered about, for Pliny tells us of two that were struck by lightning on the same day.<sup>5</sup>

All these circumstances make it highly probable that the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo, together with the so-called Apollo on the Omphalos and the other replicas of this statue, are copies of the statue of the pugilist Euthymos by Pythagoras of Rhegion.

In the beginning of this inquiry I pointed to the fact that before Greek art could arrive at the height in which in Athens

<sup>1</sup> Paus. vi. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. vi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. vi. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Said to come from the island of Anaphe.—Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, London, 1880, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> *N. H.* vii. 152. 'Consecratus est vivos sentiensque eiusdem oraculi iussu

et Iovis deorum summi adstipulatu Euthymus pecta, semper Olympiæ victor et semel victus. Patria ei Locri in Italia. Ibi imaginem eius et Olympiæ alteram eodem die tactam fulmine Callimachum ut nihil aliud miratum video,' &c. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 494.

Pheidias infused with ideal forms the figures which he rendered true to nature, perfection in the technical handling of the material had to precede. The history of Archaic art in Greece is the history of the struggle of the artistic spirit with the reluctant material, and its final victory over it. Now if we consider the sculptor Pythagoras in this connexion we find that he holds the most prominent position in the consummation of this end. The earliest works are architectural, to the exclusion of vitality. And the struggle will now be for a combination of vitality and regularity of form in the full harmony of the organic body. But the progression was not simple; we find extreme action in one direction, and reaction back to another. And yet the whole movement is progressive. Greek art was not like Oriental art in clinging to fixed forms. The Greeks clung to nature, and learnt from her. In the seated figures of the Branchidae from the Sacred Way near Miletus we have this want of vitality, and the extreme reaction to a formless attempt at imitating nature sets in in works like the earlier metopes from the temple of Selinus. In Athens there will be this harmony; but the Athenian spirit, with its keen sense for movement and vitality, will transgress the bounds of the *law* of form which we notice in the dry and stern figures of early Peloponnesian reliefs. And so, though a keen sense for rhythm and texture is already manifest in the archaic seated Athene on the Acropolis, still there is an absence of the stern regularity which exists in Archaic Peloponnesian work to the exclusion of vitality. The Athenian spirit for rhythm will have to be transfused with the Peloponnesian spirit for symmetry. Symmetry and rhythm were first combined by Pythagoras of Rhegion, and it is more than mere chance that Rhegion, originally a Chalcidian settlement, received a large body of Messenians at the close of the Messenian war, and that the teacher of Pythagoras held Peloponnesian traditions in his art. No fitter person could have effectuated this final step. But Pythagoras was not universal. He did not excel in rendering the female figure, and though he was proficient in the correct modelling of the form and the manifestation of masculine strength, he was wanting in the power to give expression to grace and sweetness. The female form and the treatment of drapery were also neglected by him. This gap was filled by Kalamis. Now the soil is prepared

for the richest fruit. But again the restless Athenian spirit is about to transgress in the direction of rhythm, to the detriment of symmetry, in the *distorta* and *elaborata* (as Quintilian would call them) figures of Myron. But the artistic tact and the power and genius of Pheidias are a safeguard against any violent reaction, and the highest period of artistic manifestation is arrived at, in which great and beautiful ideas and natural and pleasing forms are united in the harmony of one work of art.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

AN ARCHAIC VASE WITH REPRESENTATION OF A  
MARRIAGE PROCESSION.

THE vase which forms the subject of this memoir has been thought worthy of publication, both because it belongs to a type of which we have as yet but few examples, and also on account of the peculiar interest attaching to the design painted upon it. Its probable age can only be a matter of conjecture, as some of the vases of the class to which it belongs have been considered by archaeologists to be late imitations of the archaic, while on the other hand the internal evidence of the painting would seem to assign it to a place among the earliest class of Greek vases. It is figured on Plate VII.

It is a circular dish with two handles, 3 inches high by  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches diameter, composed of a soft reddish clay of a yielding surface; the painting is laid on in a reddish brown, in some parts so thinly as to be transparent, and in other parts has rubbed away with the surface, so that it has acquired that patchy appearance generally characteristic of vase pictures of this type. The drawing, though crude and in parts almost grotesque, is executed with great spirit and freedom of style,—and thus could hardly have been the work of a late provincial artist—while in the shape of the column and of the wheel of the cart, in the prominent nose and chin which admit of no distinction between bearded and beardless faces, and in the angular contour of the human figures, we recognise features peculiar to an archaic period of art.

The figures, which are drawn in silhouette, helped out here and there with an occasional rough incised line, are arranged in a frieze around the exterior of the vase, within a wreath of single ivy leaves; another design occupies a medallion in the centre of the interior. In this medallion, an unarmed warrior is

represented easily overcoming an opponent whose arms he holds, and who attempts to fly, vainly brandishing a sword in his left hand: in his right he holds a cord, at the end of which is fastened an object of indefinite outline, in shape somewhat resembling a small tortoise: on the right a third warrior flies at full speed, looking back with a gesture of fear. This subject may perhaps represent an episode in the life of one of the mythical heroes of Athens, Herakles or Theseus, but at present I can offer no certain explanation of it.

The chief interest of our vase, however, lies in the interpretation of the frieze of figures which decorates the exterior (Plate VII. scale  $\frac{2}{3}$ ). These may be divided into two separate groups, each of which portrays a distinct scene. The first and most important group includes fourteen out of the twenty human figures, and extends from the column on the right to the figure behind the car on the left. It is evident that we have here represented a procession of figures about to sacrifice to Athenè: on the extreme right we see the Doric column, indicating, as is usual in Greek vase pictures, the whole by a part, and therefore standing here for the Temple itself.<sup>1</sup> In front of this column, and apparently *sub divo*, stands the statue of Athenè Polias as it stood upon the Akropolis before the sacking of Athens by the Persians, the shield advanced in the left hand, the spear brandished in the right, fit symbols of the tutelary goddess of the Athenian Akropolis; her helmet, for which there was not space in the design, is partially indicated by a peak on each side of the face. The identity of this figure is still further established by the objects behind the statue: the snake, the οἶκουρὸς ὄφις<sup>2</sup> of the goddess, and the olive plant, her peculiar attribute, both especially significant of her temple on the Akropolis, where they were cherished in her honour. In front of the statue is a somewhat strange object, formed apparently of rough blocks of stone, in shape like a high-backed seat: this represents the altar of burnt sacrifice, from which the flames already ascend. We know that it was usual to have the altar placed thus before the temple: Aeschylus (*Suppl.* l. 494) speaks of βαμοὶ πρόναοι; and indeed it was only natural that the altar should stand close to the goddess: in the shape, which I believe to be unique,

<sup>1</sup> The rough vertical line down the centre is possibly a rude attempt to render fluting?

<sup>2</sup> Ar. *Lys.* 759.

there is possibly a reference to the seats of the deities frequently placed in their temples, such as, for example, the golden seat which Plutarch tells us (*Per.* 13) was made by Pheidias for Athenè.

Upon the back of the altar is seated a bird, which is certainly not the owl, but seems more to resemble in shape a crow, and in effect it appears that this bird was originally under the protection of Athenè, although it afterwards gave place to the owl (Ovid, *Met.* ii. 549, *sqq.*): Pausanias (iv. 34, 6) speaks of a bronze statue of the goddess in the open air, on the Akropolis at Athens, holding a crow in her hand: Aelian, again (*N. A.* 3, 9), states that this very bird was particularly invoked at weddings, a fact which tends to confirm the intèrpretation of this design which I am about to propose. It is well known that it was customary among the Greeks to decorate an altar with the attributive bird of the god: the eagle, raven, and owl are most frequently so found, and Strabo says that the great altar of Artemis at Ephesos was almost covered with emblems of this kind, works of Praxiteles.

We now come to the actual procession, which I think can be clearly proved to represent an Athenian wedding; but first it will be well to give a short account of the nuptial ceremony as we know it from paintings and other sources.

The prototype of all Greek marriage festivals was the celebration of the nuptials of Zeus and Hera: and almost all the representations of a marriage scene which have come down to us in art are generally explained to be mystical processions of deities, most usually including Apollo, Artemis, Hermes, Athenè, Dionysos, besides the king of gods and his consort, whose place in the *quadriga* is sometimes filled by two of the lesser deities.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the existing monuments give us little information upon the subject: and I think this vase will be found to furnish valuable evidence towards clearing up more than one point hitherto obscure.

The time of year most usually selected for marriages was the month Gamelion, which included part of January and February, and of which certain days seem to have been considered more suitable than others. In this month was celebrated the Gamelia,

<sup>1</sup> See Gerhard, *Aus. Vas. Taff.* cccx. foll.

or *ἱερὸς γάμος*, the festival of the marriage of Zeus and Hera, in which both Athenè and Dionysos, in their quality of deities of nature, bore a part. The actual wedding, after the lawful affiancing (*ἐγγύησις*) had taken place, was preceded by a solemn sacrifice, *προτέλεια* or *προγάμεια*, offered by the father of the bride (Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 718) either to the protecting gods of marriage, *Θεοὶ γαμήλιοι*, or, as we learn from Plutarch (*Aimol. Narr.* 1), to the tutelary deity of the place, *Θεὸς ἐγχώριος*: thus in Photius (p. 464, *Dobr.*) this sacrifice is performed in honour of ἡ Θεός, who, as he is speaking of Athens, cannot be other than Athenè. It is uncertain whether this rite was performed on a day previous to the wedding-day; the evidence of Achilles Tatius (ii. 12) certainly points to the wedding-day itself,<sup>1</sup> where the father of the bride, already sacrificing the *προτέλεια*, on account of a bad omen, puts off the wedding for *that day*: *ἐπέσχευ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τοὺς γάμους*: and indeed it seems only natural to expect that such was the case: the bride and bridegroom must both have taken part in the sacrificial procession, for the intervention of the deity was necessary to confirm the ceremony: Plutarch says (*Præc. conj.* p. 138, B.), τὸν πατέρα θεσμὸν, ὃν ἡ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱέρεια συνειργυνυμένοις ἐφήρμοσε:<sup>2</sup> probably the 'giving away,' *ἐκδοσις*, took place here: in Hyper. *pro Lycoῤῃ*, Dioxiḗpos accompanies the procession (*ἡκολούθει*) διὰ τὸ χήραν ἐκδίδοσθαι αὐτήν, and possibly the bride would have taken this occasion to dedicate the *ἀφαιρέσεις* (Hesych.) of her hair.<sup>3</sup> I see no reason, therefore, why the leading home of the bride should not immediately have followed the sacrifice, forming part of the same ceremony. Hesychius, and some writers who are quoted as *lovi* upon this point, would appear to use the word *γάμος* in a limited, as well as in a general, sense, as implying nothing more than the consummation of the nuptials, excluding all the ceremonies, even down to the banquet: thus he defines *προτέλεια* as 'ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων θυσία καὶ ἐορτή.' I think we get rid of a difficulty by bearing in mind this distinction of the *προτέλεια* from the *γάμος* proper:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Becker's *Charicles*, ed. Güll, pp. 361-2. I can find no direct evidence against this theory except a passage of Hesychius (under *γάμων ἔσθῃ*), of which the reading seems unsatis-

factory.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zonaras, *lex.* p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Poll. iii. 28, καὶ τῆς κείνης δὲ τού-ε (i.e. at the *προτέλεια*) ἀπὴρχοντο ταῖς θεαῖς αἱ κόραι.

which is indeed suggested by Pollux, though he again divides them differently: 'καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ, γάμος· ἡ δὲ πρὸ γάμου θυσία, προτέλεια καὶ προγάμεια.' Cf. also Hyperides, quoted by Pollux, iii. 44, who says, "Ὁμηρος μέντοι οὐ τὸ ἔργον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν, γάμον καλεῖ," where the limited sense of the word is clearly recognised. Thus, then, it is necessary to consider the word γάμος as used in two distinct senses: either for the whole ceremony generally, or as forming a component part of it, together with the προτέλεια, the γαμήλια, &c.; whilst the προτέλεια would include the procession to the temple, the sacrifice (the omen-taking, dedications, &c.), the ἔκδοσις, and in certain instances, the leading home and banquet. Arrived at the house of the bridegroom, the bride was probably conducted within by her mother, bearing a lighted torch (Eur. *Phoen.* 344 and *Iph. Aul.* 728): and the ceremony was terminated by the marriage banquet, *Θοῖνη γαμική*.

It is probable then that the design before us represents the προτέλεια preparatory to the wedding: the nuptial procession moves along, headed by a female figure, the priestess<sup>1</sup> for the occasion, who carries upon her head the *kanon*, a flat circular basket containing the cakes, chaplets, and other objects intended for use in the sacrifice. It may be noticed that this figure wears an upper garment similar to that of Athenè, which does not appear to be the ordinary *diploïdion*: presuming that this may, in the case of the Goddess, represent the sacred aegis, her usual attribute, we must look for a satisfactory precedent for its appearance upon an ordinary mortal. A passage of Zonaras (*Lec.* p. 77) renders such an interpretation possible: ἡ ἱέρεια Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φοροῦσα πρὸς τοὺς νεογάμους εἰσέρχεται: but in drawing such as that of our design it is of course useless to insist upon minute points of detail. Next comes the ox, the usual victim on such occasions for those who could afford it, led by a cord in the hand of the principal male figure, who would probably be the father of the bride,<sup>2</sup> assisted by an attendant who holds a

<sup>1</sup> Either the regular priestess of Athenè or, as we know was the case in the Dionysia (*Ar. Ach.* 241-252), an unmarried female, probably a rela-

tive of the bride.

<sup>2</sup> Ach. Tat. ii. 12; Eur. *Iph. in A.* 718.

cord attached to either of the hind legs of the animal: between these two figures walks an *auletes* playing upon the double flutes: then follow four figures, one carrying an *oinorhoë*, probably containing wine for the sacrifice, two with torches, the *δαῖδες νυμφικαί* (Ar. *Pax*, 1318), and two with chaplets: the whole arrangement thus coinciding with the accounts we have of such processions, which included flute-players, torch-bearers, and persons carrying chaplets,<sup>1</sup> most of whom probably joined in chanting the song of Hymenaios.<sup>2</sup>

The bridal car itself, drawn by two mules, and followed by a figure bearing a wand, closes the procession: such carts are of extremely rare occurrence on monuments of Greek art, instances being limited, on Greek vases at least, to three or four: of these, the interpretation of one (Gerhard, *Aus. Vas.* cccxvii. 2) remains doubtful: in a second (Panofka, *Bild. ant. Lebens*, xx. 2, p. 47) the *ἄμαξα* is certainly in use as a funeral car:<sup>3</sup> while in a third (*Ibid.* xvii. 2) it is probably a nuptial car, containing the bridal couple and the 'best man.' In this last instance, as well as upon our vase, the body of the cart is made of wicker, whence Homer's epithet *εὐπλεκτος*: and from his description we learn that this part, which he calls *πείρις*, was capable of being detached from the rest: *πείρινθα δὲ δῆσαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς (ἀμάξης)*, *Il.* 24, 190, 267: in a funeral it was probably so detached to allow of the coffin being placed lengthwise on the cart. The mule car seems from the time of Homer downwards to have been the most usual conveyance for domestic purposes, and especially for weddings: we gather from Pollux<sup>4</sup> that it was customary to fetch the bride in a car rather than on foot: *ἐπὶ ζεύγους δὲ τὰς νύμφας ὡς ἐπιτοπολὺ μετήεσαν, εἰ δὲ πεζῇ ἀφικνέιτο ἡ νύμφη, χαμαίπους ἐλέγετο*. Inside the car sat the bride, between the bridegroom and the *πάροχος*, who seems to have officiated as the bridegroom's friend, much the same as our 'best man': Photius, *s. v.*, says: *μέση μὲν ἡ νύμφη, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ ὁ τε νυμφίος καὶ ὁ πάροχος*. This

<sup>1</sup> Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 3, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Wachsmuth, *Hell. Alt.* ii. 389; Pollux, i. 35, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* vii. 426, and xxiv. 782. Gerhard, in the *Berlins antike Bildwerke*, describing a vase which is cer-

tainly Etruscan, mentions a similar two-wheeled mule car, on which lies a bearded corpse; the procession is headed by the grotesque figure of Charon, the Etruscan conception of death.

<sup>4</sup> *Onom.* iii. 40.

expression has led many to believe that the three sat upon the same seat : but judging from the size of the cart, and from the evidence of our vase, it is more probable that they sat one behind the other, the bride still μέση. We may assume that either the bridegroom or the πάροχος would drive, and the first three of the figures in the cart thus would be accounted for. The fourth, who sits at the back holding a chaplet, wears a talaric *chiton* ; from the analogy of the priestess and the figure of Athenè, who alone of all in the design wear this garment, if we do not consider the bride, we may assume that this figure is female. Though no positive evidence exists as to the presence of a fourth person, it is probable that we see here either the mother of the bride or a bridesmaid, νυμφεύτρια,<sup>1</sup> who 'arranged the things concerning the wedding' (Poll. iii. 41). From the gesture of the hands she seems to be conversing with the figure who closes the procession, and who is possibly a marshal such as we see on the Frieze of the Parthenon ; perhaps in this figure we see the muleteer, ὀρεώκομος, mentioned by Hyperides (*Lyr.* 4), as following the bridal car in the procession : ὀρεώκομον καὶ προηγητὴν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ζεύγει. It is noticeable that the mules are not driven by means of reins : perhaps, as on the Burgon Panathenaic vase (Millingen, *Uned. Mon.* pl. ii. Cat. of Vases in Brit. Mus. 569), the driver controlled the animals by voice and the whip, διπλὴ μάστιξ (Soph. *Aj.* 242), which in our design he holds over them.

The painting which occupies the reverse side probably represents a scene from the Dionysiac festival of the Lenaia, which was also held in the month Gamelion<sup>2</sup> : at this feast, we are told, the procession sacrificed a goat at the Lenaion, and a chorus (hence called τραγικὸς χορὸς) standing around chanted a dithyrambic ode to the god : the garlands held in the hands would indicate the sacrificial nature of the scene : and the object above the goat may be a mask, typifying the scenic contests<sup>3</sup> which took place at the time.

The bird on the extreme left does not seem to contribute at all to the action of the design, and at first sight would appear

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. II., p. 692, νυμφεύτρια ἢ συμπεμπομένη ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων τῇ νύμφῃ πα ἀνομφος. Hermann, *Leb. der Gr. Ant.* III. 245, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann, *loc. cit.* II. p. 396, 22-28.

<sup>3</sup> Hermann, *Ibid.*, and II. p. 390, 5.

to have been inserted by the artist merely to fill in a blank space: the key, however, to the interpretation is, I think, afforded in a comparison with a similar type upon a coin of Selinus: there we see this very crane or marsh bird, which, by a connection of ideas very common in Greek art, is certainly employed to represent the marsh itself: applying the evidence thus obtained to our vase, we find that the deity of the temple where the feast of the Lenaia was celebrated was called Dionysos Limnaios, or 'the marshy,' on account of the swamp<sup>1</sup> in which the temple originally stood: a point which goes far to justify the attribution I have given of this scene, and is doubly interesting because satisfactory interpretations of these and similar types on vases are notoriously of rare occurrence.

CECIL SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schol. to Ar. *Ran.* 216, who quotes Kallimachos, *Λιμναίῳ δὲ χορο-*

*στάδας ἦγον ἐορτάς.* Steph. Byz. s. v. : *Ath.* xi. 465 a.

## THE PENTATHLON OF THE GREEKS.

TISAMENUS having been told by the priestess at Delphi that he should win five most illustrious contests, began at once, as Herodotus<sup>1</sup> tells us, to train for the Olympian pentathlon, supposing that to that alone she could refer. From this we may judge that the pentathlon was in high favour among the Greeks. And not without reason, for whereas, as Socrates complained,<sup>2</sup> 'running long distances makes the legs thick and the shoulders meagre, and boxing makes the shoulders sturdy and the legs feeble,' the practice of the pentathlon, on the contrary, developed all parts of the body in fair proportion. Hence it was in high honour among the Spartans, who set their faces against dishonouring and disfiguring contests, such as boxing and the pancration. Hence the pentathli were in all Greek states the models of physical beauty and vigour. And the great physician Galen remarks<sup>3</sup> that the pentathlon is the most perfect of exercises, and also called *κατασκευή*, the training *par excellence*.

Among German archaeologists the pentathlon has aroused considerable interest. Böckh and Hermann devoted much attention to its explanation, and each of them, as well as Dissen and several other writers, drew up a scheme of the contest. In more recent times Dr. Pinder<sup>4</sup> has published a work of more than a hundred pages in length on the subject. In my opinion all of these writers have failed to discover the true nature of the Greek pentathlon, not of course in consequence of want of

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ix. 33, cf. Pausan. iii. 11.6.

<sup>2</sup> Xenoph. *Sympos.* 2, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *De Sanitate tuenda*, iii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Der Fünfkampf der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1867. Although I do not

accept all Dr. Pinder's opinions, his work is one of much ability, and I am greatly indebted to it throughout this paper. In particular, my references to classical writers are frequently due to his research.

learning and ability, but rather from a want of practical acquaintance with the nature of athletic contests, and from an absence of that spirit of sport which seems to have been almost the exclusive possession of the Greeks in ancient as of the English in modern days. However, this is an allegation which no one can be expected to accept without proof. I must give readers an opportunity of seeing what fault I have to find with the theories of Hermann and Pinder, and it will be for them to judge whether my own is preferable.

The pentathlon of Olympia and the other great games consisted of five contests. This its very name implies. What contests these were is, I believe, undisputed; we have on this point the concurring testimony of a number of writers and their scholiasts. The verse of Simonides is well known:—

ἄλμα ποδωκείην δίσκον ἄκοντα πάλην.

The same five contests, namely: leaping, running, throwing the discus, hurling the javelin, and wrestling, are again mentioned by the Scholiast to Pindar —<sup>1</sup>

ἄλμα δίσκος ἀκόντιον δρόμος καὶ πάλη.

and the Scholiast to Sophocles<sup>2</sup> agrees—

ἄλμα δίσκον ἄκοντα δρόμον πάλην.

Eustathius<sup>3</sup> quotes a distich to the same effect—

ἄλμα ποδῶν δίσκου τε βολῇ καὶ ἄκοντος ἐρωῇ  
καὶ δρόμος ἥδὲ πάλη, μία δ' ἔπλετο πᾶσι τελευτή.

These concurrent testimonies are quite sufficient to establish incontrovertibly the character of the contests included in the pentathlon, although sometimes in later writers we find a tendency to substitute boxing for javelin-throwing. This substitution is explained by Dr. Pinder as based on a misunderstanding of a passage in the *Odyssey*<sup>4</sup> which describes the athletic contests of the Phaeacians. Homer describes these people as contending among themselves in running, wrestling, leaping, discus-throwing, and boxing. But there is nothing in the context to show that these contests were by them considered

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Isth.* i. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Electr.* 691.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Il.* ψ 621.

<sup>4</sup> θ 120—30.

as parts of a great competition like that of the pentathlon. They stood quite apart one from the other, and were won by various Phaeacian heroes. But the mere fact that these contests were in number five seems to have created a confusion in the minds of certain writers of the lower age.

We must confine ourselves to a very brief sketch of those contests which formed the essential part of the Greek pentathlon, namely: leaping, spear-throwing, and discus-throwing, for running and wrestling were not peculiar to it. The leap would appear from the numerous representations which we possess of it on ancient monuments to have been taken standing. The ancients considered it the hardest part of the contest.<sup>1</sup> It was accomplished with the help of the *halteres*, which were weights of stone or metal, corresponding to our dumb-bells, and were supposed materially to facilitate the process of leaping. The attitude of the leaper may be judged from vases. He stretched out his two hands in front of him, one of the *halteres* in each, then bent his knees, and then at the same moment straightened his legs and brought his arms backwards; see Plate VIII. I do not know that any one in our Universities has experimented in this method of leaping, but the thing is worth a trial. As to the distance the Greeks could cover,—for the jump was in length, not height,—we are much perplexed. It is stated, not by one author, but several, that fifty feet was sometimes covered, and that Phayllus of Croton leapt fifty-five feet, and Chionis fifty-two feet. This is a difficulty which still requires explanation. It is unreasonable to suppose that the ancients would repeat over and over again in narrative and epigram a statement which would seem to any one acquainted with the subject palpably absurd. Yet we cannot for an instant imagine that a standing leap of fifty feet would be possible; seeing that our best athletes scarcely reach half that distance, with the advantage of a run.

The most complete account of the feat of Phayllus is given by the Scholiast to Lucian.<sup>2</sup> He writes of that athlete, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ σκαπτόντων ἡ πόδας καὶ τούτους πηδώντων, ὁ Φάϋλλος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑπτά ἑπὶ πᾶν ἐπήδησεν. From this passage it would seem that in the course of a competition, probably at Pytho, where

<sup>1</sup> Philostr. *De Gymn.* 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Somn. s. Gall.* 6.

Phayllus was thrice victorious, other competitors leapt fifty feet, but Phayllus surpassed all. And he was no mythical hero, but one who commanded a ship at the time of the Persian invasion.

In the above-quoted passage there occurs the word *σκάπτειν* in connection with leaping. *ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδᾶν* was proverbial for describing a long leap. What were these *ἐσκαμμένα*? The Scholiast to Pindar says<sup>1</sup> that after every leap a fork was drawn across to mark its length, so that he who leaps beyond all marks distances his rivals. This seems the natural explanation of the phrase. But Dr. Pinder considers that some other explanation is required. He says that both the Scholiast to Lucian, and especially Pindar in his well-known lines—

*μακρὰ δὴ*  
*αὐτόθεν ἄλμαθ' ὑποσκάπτει τις ἔχω γονάτων ἐλαφρὸν ὄρμαν—*

imply that the *ἐσκαμμένα* set a task to the leaper and directed his efforts. Hence some writers have thought that the word indicated a space specially prepared for the leapers by breaking up the ground, and have supposed that vigorous leapers sometimes overpassed the limit of such ground.

The spear was thrown, as may be seen from the Plate, usually by means of a thong, which probably imparted to it a rotatory motion, the principle being the same as that which we use in rifling our guns. A rotatory motion of course ensures steadiness and accuracy. Sometimes, however, as on a disk<sup>2</sup> in the British Museum, there appears no thong. It is probable that the spear was thrown at a mark or target, and the goodness of the throw tested by its arriving near to or far from the centre of such mark, and not merely by the distance covered. We are left to probabilities, because there is, I believe, no passage of the writers which settles the question.

The competition with the discus was probably otherwise ordered. Here distance thrown only was considered. Phayllus is said to have thrown a discus ninety-five feet. But as to the weight of the discus, we are not informed. A discus in the British Museum weighs 11 lbs. and 9 oz., and it is probable that this was a real working specimen. In shape it is a flat circular slab. The engraved disks<sup>2</sup> of Berlin and the British Museum

<sup>1</sup> *Nem.* v. 34.

<sup>2</sup> These are spoken of below, p. 215.

are far lighter, but these were probably only votive, and not of full weight. How the discus was hurled we may judge from the statues of the sculptor Myron, cf. Plate VIII. The whole body was thrown into the task of discharging the missile. And if the story about Phaëllus be true, it would seem that in this matter also ancient athletes were far more skilled than their modern representatives.

It being then fixed that the pentathlon consisted in the five contests of leaping, discus-throwing, javelin-throwing, running, and wrestling, we must next endeavour to ascertain in what order these conflicts succeeded one another. On this subject there are the most different opinions among archaeologists. Böckh and Krause adopt the order of the verse of Simonides already quoted, placing leaping and running first, the discus and javelin next, and wrestling last. Hermann varies this order by placing wrestling before discus- and spear-throwing. We cannot help wondering what sort of a throw with a spear an athlete could make after a bout or two of wrestling!

Without however further troubling ourselves about modern opinions, let us turn to the evidence offered by ancient writers and monuments. First, then, it seems to be well established that wrestling came last. By the light of nature we should judge that this must be the case, for after the terrible strain of wrestling an athlete would surely be unfitted for light exercises, such as running and throwing the spear. And ancient writers frequently speak of the wrestling part of the pentathlon as the last. Thus we are told that Tisamenus, whose name has been already mentioned, conquered but for wrestling, it being implied that wrestling was the final test.

That wrestling was immediately preceded by running we have positive evidence in a passage from Xenophon's *Hellenica*,<sup>1</sup> quoted by Dr. Pinder. We find there an account of the interruption of the 104th celebration of the Olympic festival by the attack of the confederated Arcadians, and are told that these latter made their attack when the running contest of the Pentathlon, τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου was just at an end, and the wrestling was about to begin.

If running and wrestling concluded the pentathlon, it would of

<sup>1</sup> *Hell.* vii. 4.

course begin with the other three contests, leaping, discus-throwing, and spear-throwing. And this is quite natural. The three contests I have just mentioned were the real essence of the whole competition. They were not repeated in the Olympic contest; whereas running and wrestling had special prizes awarded to them apart at another stage of the celebration. Why running and wrestling were added to the three more special contests I shall try presently to explain; but in my opinion they were an afterthought. So in the monuments of Greek art pentathli were represented in their statues at Olympia<sup>1</sup> as holding the *ἀλτῆρες* which the Greeks used in leaping. And in the case of a discus published by Pinder<sup>2</sup> we find represented on one side a leaper, on the other a javelin-thrower, the discus itself by a pleasing conceit filling up the third place, and thus becoming a complete symbol of the pentathlon, of success in which contest it was doubtless a votive memorial. A similar discus of better execution is in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> On one side of a Panathenaic vase, which is now for the first time adequately represented,<sup>4</sup> and which belongs to the national collection, we find three bearded men occupied in the three exercises peculiar to the pentathlon. The first, *i.e.* the one furthest to the left, holds the *halteres*, and is about to leap, the second is discharging a javelin, the third grasps a discus. In front of all stands another figure grasping a spear. He is perhaps a competitor, but more probably a trainer, who turns his head and gives, with raised hand, to the athletes the signal to begin.

It is well known that on each Panathenaic vase we usually find a representation of the particular contest for success in which it was awarded. Our vase, though it may be only an imitation of one given to the victorious pentathlos at some particular celebration at Athens, yet affords unimpeachable testimony as to what contests were there regarded as most distinctive of the pentathlon. Other vases, of which a list will be found in Dr. Pinder's work,<sup>5</sup> give the same testimony, although the

<sup>1</sup> So Hysmo, Paus. vi. 3, 10, and a nameless Pentathlos, Paus. v. 27, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>3</sup> Engraved in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1877.

<sup>4</sup> Plate VIII. A very diminutive representation of this vase, which

comes from Vulci, will be found in Gerhard's *Etruskische und Campan. Vasenbilder*, Plate A, No. 6. The other side of the vase, representing Athens, will be found in the same work, Pl. A, No. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Page 45.

dimensions of Greek vases very seldom allow so complete a representation of various contests as that which we now produce. Usually one or two contests only are indicated.

If we now turn back to the quotations from scholiasts with which this paper began, we shall find considerable unanimity in the order in which they place the competitions of the pentathlon. Of course I have not quoted all the passages of ancient writers from which an order can be extracted. But I have quoted three of the most important. The Scholiasts on Pindar and Sophocles, and Eustathius, use very different words. Two of them write in prose and one quotes verse. Yet all three agree in giving the following order: (1) leaping, (2) discus-throwing, (3) javelin-throwing, (4) running, (5) wrestling. It is true that Simonides may be quoted in favour of another order, but then Simonides had to get five words into one verse, and was driven to adopt any order which would accomplish that end. The clumsy distich of Eustathius, which can scarcely be made with any other end than to indicate an order, is really more valuable testimony. I think we are justified in assuming that the coincidence of the three scholiasts is not fortuitous, and as they seem to be borrowing from various sources, there is a strong presumption that the order as they give it is the true one.

Indeed it seems to me almost certain that the pentathlon began with leaping and ended with running and wrestling. It is only as to the precedence of discus-throwing and spear-throwing that we can hesitate. Our writers give that precedence to the discus. But our vase, and other vases like it, place spear-throwing first. Perhaps the vase-painters did not like to place the spear-thrower next to the trainer with his spear for fear of offending the eye. Or perhaps there was no absolutely fixed order for the two very kindred contests of hurling the discus and the spear.

A passage of Flavius Philostratus<sup>1</sup> of which Dr. Pinder makes much and to which I must hereafter return, mentions the contests of the pentathlon in the same general order as that above given. Speaking of the Argonauts, he says that Telamon was best among them at throwing the discus, Lynceus at throwing the spear, the sons of Boreas at running and leaping, Peleus at

<sup>1</sup> *De Gymn.* 3.

wrestling. Save that running and leaping are put together because the same persons excelled in them, we find here our previous order exactly repeated.

However, we must now turn to a still more vexed question. What were the laws of the contest, and how was victory decided? Here again we find the widest varieties of opinion among learned men. Hermann lays it down that the victor in the pentathlon must defeat his competitors in all five of the component contests; on which Dr. Pinder remarks with justice that in such case the prize would be very seldom awarded at all, for it is impossible to suppose that one man would usually distance his contemporaries in five very various contests. Hermann's view is also inconsistent with several passages in the writers to which I need not now refer, as I shall have presently to pass them in review. Dr. Pinder's own notion is that the circle of competitors was narrowed at every successive competition. If after the leaping only five competitors were allowed to remain in, and in each of the subsequent contests the worst man was excluded, it is clear that by the time the wrestling came on only two would be left, between whom the final victory would lie.

Before stating my own view and confirming it by an appeal to the writers, I must briefly give two reasons for which I hold Dr. Pinder's view to be unmaintainable. In the first place, if it were true, those contests which Dr. Pinder himself asserts to be the most important part of the pentathlon, namely leaping and spear- and discus-throwing would count for very little, and wrestling for nearly everything. A man might be but third in all the three contests I have mentioned, and yet win by wrestling. In this case, why should his statue bear the *halteres*, and his prize-vase contain no allusion to wrestling? In the second place, Pollux<sup>1</sup> has the phrase ἐπὶ δὲ πεντάθλου τὸ νικῆσαι ἀποτριάξαι λέγουσι, and Plutarch<sup>2</sup> says, ταῖς τρισὶν ὥσπερ οἱ πένταθλοι περίεστι καὶ νικᾷ. Still more explicit is the Scholiast ad Aristidem,<sup>3</sup> οὐχ ὅτι πάντως οἱ πένταθλοι πάντα νικῶσιν, ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν νίκην. These passages seem to me to prove beyond all cavil that for victory in the pentathlon it was necessary to win three events. But according to Dr. Pinder's scheme, a man might win in the pentathlon, although only first in one single

<sup>1</sup> *Onom.* iii. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Page 112. *Ed. Frommel.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sympos. Prob.* ix. 2.

event, wrestling; might indeed be very inferior in the three preliminary contests, and second in running, and yet, through his superiority in wrestling, win the victor's wreath. I do not see that this is in any way reconcilable with the testimony of the writers I have quoted.

Dr. Pinder, indeed, interprets the word *νικᾷ* differently, and thinks that it merely means to be one of the three or four successful competitors, or 'get a place' in a contest. He also thinks that the three last contests in order were alone counted as contests, being, in fact, more severe. But I do not think that any one will be inclined to acquiesce in such readings.

If then there were but two competitors for the prize of the pentathlon, we might very readily judge in what way it would be awarded. Three events out of five would secure the victory. The man who was successful in leaping and with the spear and discus would be proclaimed winner without the necessity of submitting to the severer tests of running and wrestling,<sup>1</sup> or if he won in two of the three preliminary contests, and then in either running or wrestling, he would also be victor. All this is so simple, and to us English so intelligible, that it needs no further explanation. And in this case it will be seen how just is the observation of Dr. Pinder that in every case where we hear of wrestling as part of a pentathlic contest the winner in that wrestling is victor in the whole. For according to the present scheme a pair of pentathli would only engage in wrestling if they had won two events each, and in that case the result of the wrestling match would obviously be decisive.

But when there were more competitors than two the case is less simple. If the competitors all contended at once against each other in leaping, discus-throwing, and spear-throwing, it is not clear in what way victory could be adjudged. If the victors in these three contests alone were allowed to proceed further, of these victors one might win in running and one in wrestling, and then no competitor would have won more than twice. Or if

<sup>1</sup> It is of course not impossible that even in this case the rest of the contests would be proceeded with, but most unlikely. We can scarcely imagine a man after being defeated in wrestling being then declared victor in

consequence of his prowess in previous stages. But this might have happened unless the competition was closed as soon as one competitor had succeeded thrice.

one man was first in both spear- and discus-throwing, only two would be eligible for the final contests.

It is far more probable that the Greeks adopted the simple expedient of considering the pentathlon as a single and indivisible contest, and drawing the competitors in pairs to contend in it. The successful athletes of the pairs, that is, those who had won any three events out of the five, would then again be drawn against each other, and so on until only two were left, between whom the final heat took place. In wrestling, boxing, and the pancration we have reason to hold that this took place, and it seems all but certain that it must have taken place also in the pentathlon.

In this case there must have frequently been an *ephedros* among the pentathli. Now the custom of having an *ephedros* is one which has been very much misunderstood by the German scholars. Quite recently in the *Archäologische Zeitung*<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dittenberger, in commenting on an inscription from Olympia, remarks that there are two systems of explaining the position of the *ephedros*. The first is that of Barthélemy and Böckh, who think that if the competitors were divided into couples and one remained over, this one had to fight successively all those athletes who defeated the men paired against them. A beats B, C beats D, E beats F, then G, who is *ephedros*, has to contend with A, C, and E, in turn. So Böckh. The second system is that of Krause, who maintains<sup>2</sup> that the *ephedros* when once selected stood aside and let the other competitors fight among themselves until only one was left, between whom and the *ephedros* lay the struggle for final victory. But our readers will easily judge that we are not prepared to accept either of these explanations. That of Böckh is far too unfavourable to the *ephedros*, who would, according to him, usually have far more fighting to do than any one else, and his position, instead of being coveted, would have been looked on as unfortunate. That of Krause is, on the other hand, too favourable to the *ephedros*, who, according to his system, would be almost sure to win. Besides, as Dr. Dittenberger points out, it is implied in a phrase of Lucian,<sup>3</sup> τὸ μέλλειν ἀκμῆτα τοῖς κεκμηκόσι συμπεσεῖσθαι, that the *ephedros*

<sup>1</sup> ix. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Gymn. und Agon. der Hell.*

*Hermotimus*, 40. But perhaps

this phrase, which has a poetic turn, should not be pressed.

had sometimes to contend more than once. Dittenberger himself, though dissatisfied with the already cited explanations, has no better one to propose.

But all difficulties vanish if we assume, what indeed is by far the most natural explanation, that to be ephedros was merely to draw a bye in one particular round or heat. Suppose we have five competitors, A beats B, C beats D, E is ephedros. Then in the next round A, C, and E draw lots again, and perhaps A becomes ephedros, waiting the result of a contest between C and E in order to fight the winner. Now it is clear to any one who understands athletic sports that he who draws a bye at the last stage is especially favoured by fortune. And it seems that the Greeks applied the term more especially to those thus fortunate. In speaking of an ephedros they seem usually to have had three competitors only in their minds. And indeed it is doubtful if more than three usually contended in wrestling and boxing at Olympia. But the phrase of Lucian already quoted shows that the term ephedros was applicable also at earlier stages of the competition.

It is clear that we avoid most of the difficulties which encountered previous writers on the subject of the pentathlon if we arrange the scheme of it as above, making the competition a series of contests of pairs of athletes, with or without the ephedros at any stage as required; victory being awarded to that competitor of each pair who won three events out of five. But we have still to see whether this view may not have difficulties of its own, and whether it is consistent with the statements and the tales of ancient writers.

Let us first take the case of Tisamenus.<sup>1</sup> This athlete entered at Olympia for the pentathlon. His opponent was Hieronymus of Andros. Tisamenus was victorious in two contests, running and leaping, but being overthrown in wrestling by Hieronymus, lost the wreath. Now it seems to me clear that in this case, either there were only two competitors entered, or the heats had taken place and two men only were left in, Tisamenus and Hieronymus. Tisamenus won in leaping, Hieronymus was first in spear- and discus-throwing. Then Tisamenus won in the foot-race. Therefore, as each had won twice,

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. iii. 11, 6.

the wrestling must decide who was to be crowned. Here Hieronymus, being evidently the more powerful but less active man of the two, was victorious, and so Tisamenus had to depart unsuccessful. All this is quite self-consistent and clear. We are not driven to any improbable assumption, such as that of Böckh, that these two athletes were exactly equal in both spear- and discus-throwing.

Next, let us take the passage of Philostratus, to which reference has already been made, and which Dr. Pinder declares to be decisive in the whole matter. This passage informs us that among the Argonauts each of several heroes excelled in a different trial of skill. Telamon threw the discus best, and Lynceus the spear, the sons of Boreas ran the fastest and leapt the farthest; but Peleus, though second in these things, was best in wrestling. Thus, when the pentathlon was instituted among the Argonauts at Lemnos, Peleus was victorious in it. In view of this passage Dr. Pinder draws up a most elaborate scheme, and declares it to be the only one according to which, the data being taken from Philostratus, Peleus could win. But the far simpler scheme which I have proposed will suit just as well. Suppose that the preliminary heats, *τάξεις* as the Greeks called them, have been played out, and that the competitors left in are Peleus and Zetes, one of the sons of Boreas. *Ex hypothesi*, Zetes would win in running and leaping. And Peleus, as only second to Telamon with the discus and Lynceus with the spear, would easily defeat Zetes in these two trials. Wrestling would thus become the decisive contest, and Peleus being in that unrivalled, would naturally become victor in the whole competition. If Peleus had had as a competitor in the final heat Calais, the other son of Boreas, things would have taken exactly the same course. If he had encountered Telamon or Lynceus, it is probable that either of those heroes would have defeated him both in spear-throwing and with the discus, for he who excelled in one of these exercises would almost necessarily excel in the other also. But Peleus would have beaten them in running and leaping, and, as before, have carried all before him in wrestling.

When Xenophon speaks of *τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου* as concluded, such a phrase would certainly, at first sight, seem to imply that the running contests of the pentathlon took place all

at once. But it does not necessarily bear that meaning. It is very probable that the writer was thinking of the final heat only, or if the contest was at an earlier stage, of several pairs who had just done their running, and were about to wrestle for final decision. Again, when Phaÿllus is spoken of as leaping further than οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, it is by no means necessarily implied that he and all the other competitors were at the time leaping one against the other. Phaÿllus surpassed all that had been done that day, and passed all marks of previous leapers, but it is impossible to draw from the statement of this fact a serious argument against the pairing of combatants throughout.

There is a passage in the seventh Nemean Ode of Pindar which bears on the subject of the pentathlon, and which I must not entirely pass by, as it greatly perplexes the commentators. I cannot, however, discuss it at length, but will merely give the explanation offered by Dr. Pinder, which seems to me absolutely right.

ἀπομνύω

μὴ τέρμα προβάς ἄκονθ' ὥτε χαλκοπάραιον ὄρσαι  
 θοὰν γλῶσσαν, ὅς ἐξέπεμψεν παλαίσματων  
 αὐχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδιάντον, αἴθωνι πρὶν ἀλίφ γυῖον ἐμπεσεῖν.

We must find the key of the passage in the words τέρμα προβάς. This implies not throwing the spear beyond the mark, but standing, in order to discharge it, beyond the proper starting place, which would of course disqualify a competitor. Pindar says, then, that he will not pass the due limit with his tongue, like a competitor who stands in front of the proper place when he discharges his javelin in the course of a pentathlic contest, and so, being disqualified, never reaches the later stage of wrestling (παλαίσματα), which befel in the heat of the day. ἐξέπεμψεν is the frequentative aorist, and it appears that Pindar has in his mind, not the events of any particular contest, but what might happen at any. So Dr. Pinder.

It was necessary to mention this passage, because it is often quoted as proving that the pentathlon was sometimes stopped before the final stage, that of wrestling, was reached. It is almost certain that it was often so stopped, but the present passage only mentions one cause of stoppage, the

disqualification of a competitor, not the more usual cause, the winning of three events by one of the contending athletes. Some commentators, understanding by the phrase *τέρμα προβίς* the throwing beyond a mark, talk a great deal of what must be called nonsense as to the effect which a mighty throw might have in frightening competitors and making them retire from the contest. But retiring was a thing which the Greeks fined heavily. Indeed this is one of the chief points in which the sense of sport among the Greeks differed from ours. With us to scratch, or retire at any stage of a contest, does not bring disgrace. The Greeks attributed such retiring to cowardice, and punished it most severely.

I have not found in the course of my reading any passage in an ancient writer inconsistent with the theory I have proposed. But there is one objection which may be urged against it on practical grounds, and which I feel bound to mention. This lies in the length of the time which would be occupied by a series of contests in five different matters, repeated between pair after pair of competitors. We know that for a long time after the pentathlon became a part of the Olympic festival the whole of the contests proper to that festival took place in a single day, and this may seem an insufficient space of time. But there are several circumstances which may modify, if not remove, the force of this objection. First, we have no reason to think that there was usually a large entry at Olympia for the pentathlon. We do not hear of many competitors in the few contests of which the writers give us an account. Secondly, we find that no less than three Hellanodicae were set apart to judge in the pentathlon, this being a much larger number than were told off for other contests. Seven competitors, that is, three pairs and an ephedros, could all be set to work at once; and even in such an extreme case as this, only three heats would be required. And there would be no difficulty at all in fitting these into one day, provided, of course, that they went on at the same time as other contests.

PERCY GARDNER.

## THE ERECHTHEUM.

MICHAELIS does not appear to me to be altogether right when he describes<sup>1</sup> the Caryatid Porch at the south-west corner of The Erechtheum (*B* on the plan), as serving solely to cover the stair leading down from it to the western division of the temple (*C*). Further, I think he is wrong when he makes an entrance to the temple through the opening (*A*) in this porch. The mouldings at the sides show clearly that this opening was an original part of the construction;<sup>2</sup> but they do not show that it was an entrance. For in the first place the step up to it from the outside—if it is a step—measures twenty inches;<sup>3</sup> and in the second place, the delicate mouldings which run round the base of the building and are continued under this opening would be worn by almost every step that was taken up to it or down from it, as in fact they are now being worn by visitors who, with an effort, get up to the opening. Had there been an entrance at this point, these mouldings would have been discontinued, and a step placed to render the ascent fairly comfortable. Michaelis must then be wrong in making Pausanias first enter the temple at this opening. Perhaps it was here that the famous dog mentioned by Philochorus entered and *descended* into the Pandroseum!

It would seem from the way in which the stair leading up from the western division *C*, to the Caryatid Porch *B*, turns

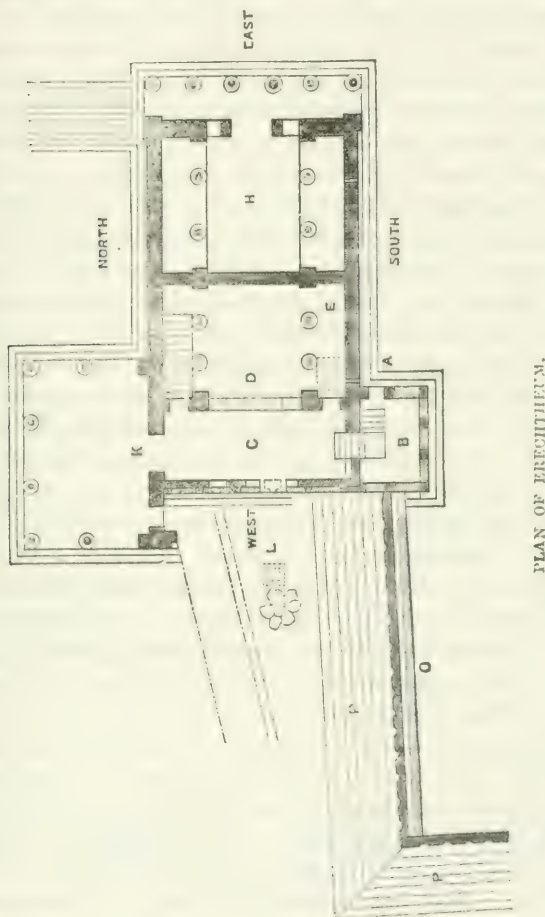
<sup>1</sup> *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Inst. in Athen*, II. p. 19. He calls the porch a *Treppenhaus*.

<sup>2</sup> Boetticher, *Untersuchungen*, p. 203, recognised this and proposed to account for the simplicity of the opening as an entrance to the temple by means

of an enclosure or peribolos in front of it.

<sup>3</sup> This extraordinary height was first pointed out as fatal to its being an entrance, by Miss Reece in January this year. At least I am not aware of its being noticed before.

towards the opening in question (A), that it had in fact been so constructed to culminate in this opening. On the other hand, it is to be observed that if the stair had risen straight up it would have broken the floor of the porch into two small and useless



spaces, whereas by turning as it does, it leaves the floor to form one unbroken space, on which I think it possible there had stood an altar. The stair would then be a means of ascending to sacrifice at it, and the narrow opening (A) may have served as a window closed by vertical metal bars.

Another of the difficulties connected with the Erechtheum is the abrupt precipice, if I may so call it, which extends westward from the Caryatid Porch, and there forms the edge of the broad platform extending between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. It is marked *O* on the plan. How many modern travellers standing on the edge of this precipice must have wished, instead of the circuitous path now available, some rapid means of descent by which the somewhat unpleasant view of the temple seen from the height might be exchanged for the finer aspect when seen from the ground below! Possibly the ancients had no such difficulty. For I think it extremely probable that where the precipice is now there was originally a flight of steps extending from the Caryatid Porch westward to the end of the present platform, and turning round the western edge of it. I have drawn in these steps on Michaelis' plan and marked them *P*. At the top, one step and the setting off of a second are visible still. At the south-west angle of the temple, this flight of steps would naturally have been tailed into the wall, and it may well have been the removal of them which had caused the gap in the west wall at this point, now filled up by modern masonry.<sup>1</sup> At all events, since thinking of this first at Athens in January of the present year, I have found a certain degree of confirmation in the fact that Inwood (the Erechtheion, pl. 3) placed a staircase at this south-west angle, so as to account for the gap in the wall, and to obtain access to and from the higher platform. What I propose is not a narrow stair, but a flight of steps extending westward about eighty feet.

Mr. Fergusson<sup>2</sup> has placed here a stoa, and speaks of what I have just called a precipice as the inside of a 'retaining wall which here extends to about eighty feet, and is so rough and rude that it is impossible that any wall could be allowed to be seen on the Acropolis in such a state. It must have been covered up.' Yes, but by a flight of steps, as I think. These steps would descend to the level of the door in the west wall of the temple, and would leave as available for the Pandroseum the space marked *L*, where Michaelis and Fergusson (both

<sup>1</sup> See pl. 2 of the *Praktika* for the best representation of this gap and its filling up.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Inst. of British Architects*, 1876, p. 9.

working independently) have placed the olive-tree, and where there has been a building contiguous (*συνεχής*) to the Erechtheum, as may be seen plainly from the present condition of the north portico at this point. This building must have been the Pandroseum.

Neither Fergusson nor Michaelis has made quite clear to me how it comes that in the south wall of the temple the broad lowermost course of masonry, as seen from the outside, does not in the western half extend through the whole thickness of the wall, but as seen from the lower level of the interior presents a sinking<sup>1</sup> of some inches. At first sight it would seem as if the purpose had been to face this sinking with stones of the same dimensions as in the other courses of the wall, so that when looked at from within, the wall would present a uniform appearance, in which case it would be inferred that the wall had not been covered with stucco<sup>2</sup> and painted over, since this process would have rendered the facing stones an unnecessary device. On the other hand, it seemed to me possible, from the broken condition of the course of masonry in the interior just below the broad course in question, that a stone floor had set off there, extending across the south-west aisle. No doubt there may be more serious obstacles to this than I am aware of. It would seem, however, from the fact of the lintel of the doorway leading up from the west division (*C*) to the Caryatid Porch, being also left in the interior with a similar sinking, that the purpose in both places had more probably been to face the sinkings with stones of the same external dimensions as in the other courses, for the sake of uniformity.

A. S. MURRAY.

<sup>1</sup> This sinking will be seen in the *Praktika*, pl. 5, but in that plate the narrow course underneath is not correctly given to indicate the breakage all the way along it.

<sup>2</sup> In some parts of the interior Boetticher (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 204-5) found remains of stucco on the walls which he considered to be part of the original preparation.

THE ORACLE INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED AT  
DODONA.

STUDENTS of archaeology are now familiar with the splendid work in which Constantin Carapanos two years ago gave to the world the results of his discoveries at Dodona. The vexed question of the site of the ancient temple was finally set at rest, it will be remembered, by the discovery of a large number of inscriptions recording dedications to Zeus Naïos and Dione. The immense quantity of relics and works of art brought to light in the course of the excavations has been exhaustively catalogued in the work, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, and they have been illustrated and described by various scholars and reviewers. The inscriptions, too, have, at least on the Continent, come in for some share of notice and criticism. A detailed account of these inscriptions—their contributions to the lexicon, to dialectology, to local and general history, and to topography—is still a desideratum. For, as was only to be expected, the interpretations and criticisms of Carapanos himself are rather general than critical. His text, moreover, is frequently open to objection.

In a classification of these inscriptions our attention is at once drawn to an obviously new category; and it is with this alone that we propose to concern ourselves in the present article. The category comprises a quantity of more or less legible inscriptions engraved upon one or both sides of leaden plates often not exceeding a millimetre in thickness. These plates form a unique series of documents belonging to the archives of the famous oracle at Dodona, and contain the questions addressed, or prayers offered, to the deity by his votaries, who might be either communities or individuals. Whether, as Carapanos thinks, we have in some instances the actual answers vouchsafed by the god, is more doubtful. We shall recur to this point below.

The remainder of the catalogue may be tabulated thus :

(1) *Ex voto* inscriptions on bronze.

(2) Inscriptions on bronze or copper, recording (so far as they are legible) :

(a) Decrees of citizenship, conferred respectively by the Epirote league, the assembly of the Epirotes, and by communities whose names have disappeared.

(b) Deeds of manumission.

(c) Deeds of *procuria* conferred on individuals, and in one remarkable instance on a whole community.

(d) A contract establishing right of intermarriage.

(e) A gift of lands and other property, by a person or persons not mentioned (or possibly by the town of Dodona).

(f) Purchase of a slave.

(3) An inscription on an iron strigil. The reading is doubtful, but the subject is probably dedicatory.

(4) Two or three inscriptions on terra cotta.

(5) An inscription on a limestone tablet containing a decree of the Epirotes conferring the title of *procurios* with certain other rights and dignities on Gaïos Dazupos Rennios of Brundisium and his descendants.

The questions addressed to the oracle in many cases present great difficulties of interpretation and reading. The text is often rendered additionally obscure by the fact that the plates are inscribed on both sides. Possibly the first writing may have been in some instances partially erased by hammering, as in the Laconian inscription concerning a deposit made by Xuthias at Tegea (Cauer, *Delictus*, No. 2). How great was the task of decipherment may be judged from the photolithographic copies which Carapanos has given of four such tablets on Plate xl. of his work.

It would appear that the consultant was in every case required to put his question or prayer into writing. The discovery of these leaden plates, as Bursian remarks (*Sitzungsber. d. k. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss. z. München, Philos.-Philol. Cl.* 1878, pp. 1-28), confirms the explanation which had been previously given of the word 'sortes' in a passage of Cicero (*De Div.* i. 34, 76):

Maximum vero illud portentum eisdem Spartiatis fuit quod

cum oraculum ab Iove Dodonaco petivissent de victoria sciscitantes legatique illud in quo inerant *sortes* collocavissent, simia quam rex Molossorum in deliciis habebat et *sortes* ipsas et cetera quae erant ad sortem parata disturbavit et aliud alio dissipavit. Tum ea quae praeposita erat oraculo sacerdos dixisse dicitur, de salute Lacedaemoniis esse non de victoria cogitandum.'

Here the *sortes* are evidently the leaden plates on which the questions were written. The passage further shows that they were collected in a vessel which was brought into the sanctuary to be examined by the priestess who delivered the oracular answer.<sup>1</sup>

The form in which the questions are presented varies considerably. The most complete of the petitions open with an invocation to the deity, corresponding nearly to our 'In God's name;' this is sometimes followed by an appeal, in the vocative, to Zeus Naïos and Dione. Then comes the name of the enquirer, with a verb, generally, but not always, in the third person, introducing the question; and lastly the substance of the question. One or both of the first two ingredients may however be absent, and all that remains is an abrupt question, or a query as to the better of two alternative courses.

The invocatory formulae (with which we will include for convenience' sake also those of the ex-voto and proxenia inscriptions) may be reduced to the following types: 1. *θεὸς τύχα*. 2. *θεὸς τύχα ἀγαθῇ*. 3. *ἀγαθῇ τύχα*. 4. *θεῷ τύχα ἀγαθῇ*. 5. *θεὸν τύχαν ἀγαθάν*. 6. *θεῷ τύχαν ἀγαθάν*. 7. [*θεὸς τύχαν ἀγ*] *αθάν*.<sup>2</sup> Of these, nos. 5 and 6 differ from any of the types collected by Franz (*Elem. Epigr.* p. 318). For, while *θεὸς τύχα ἀγαθῇ* may perhaps be explained as an ellipse for *θεὸς τύχα ἀγαθῇ παρελή*, 'Deus bonâ fortunâ adsit,' while *θεὸς τύχα* is said to require a similar supplement, while *ἀγαθῇ τύχα*, sc. *είη*, seems to be a fair equivalent for 'quod bene vortat' and *δοίη* is naturally supplied to *θεὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν*; and while *θεῷ τύχα ἀγαθῇ* finds its parallel in *θεοῖς τύχη* (sc. *εὖχομαι*?) of a late

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a reminiscence of this meaning of *sortes* lurks in the Vergilian use of the word. Compare

'Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes.'

*Aen.* iv. 346

'Hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata,

Dicta meae genti, ponam.'

*Aen.* vi. 72, 73.

And in the next line—

'*Foliis tantum ne carmina manda.*'

<sup>2</sup> So Carapanos supplements Pl. xxxvi. No. 4, *reverse*; but it may just as well be *θεὸν* or *θεῷ*.

Attic agonistic inscription of the age of the Antonines, C. I. G. 281 and the older θεοῖς ἐ[πικουρίοις], i.e. ἐπικουρίοις, C. I. G. 139—it is not so easy to see what was intended to be the syntax of θεῶ τύχαν ἀγαθάν and θεὸν τύχαν ἀγαθάν. Perhaps εὐχομαι θεῶ (θεὸν) τύχαν ἀγαθάν δοῦναι.

The deities whose advice is sought are Zeus Naïos and Dione conjointly. Though the fact of their joint supremacy as oracular deities is so amply attested by the constant union of their names on the leaden plates, there are, strangely enough, very few passages among those quoted by Carapanos in which Dione is mentioned in connexion with Dodona and the Dodonaean Zeus. Thus Apollodorus speaks of a Dione παρὰ Δωδωναίοις, though he at the same time confounds her with Hera (αἱρ. Schol. in Hom. *Od.* γ. 91, Ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἥρα [ὠνομήσθη] Διώνη παρὰ Δωδωναίοις, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος); and the Schol. in Hom. *Il.* Σ. 486 includes her in a list of several Dodonaean nymphs: Ζεὺς ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ γεννηθέντα Διόνυσον ταῖς Δωδωνίσι νύμφαις τρέφειν ἔδωκεν, Ἀμβροσίᾳ, Κορωνίδι, Εὐδῶρῃ, Διώνῃ, Αἰσίλῃ, Πολυζοῖ. We find an allusion to τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον καὶ τὴν Διώνην in the Epistles of Demosthenes (?) (iv. 3); and in the speech against Meidias (§ 53 = 531), in a perhaps later insertion with reference to oracular answers from Dodona, there is an enumeration of victims offered to Zeus Naïos and Dione. Similarly ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ Διώνη are coupled together in the speech *De Falsa Legatione* (§ 299 = 431). And in a passage of Strabo (vii. 329) not quoted by Carapanos we read: ἐπειδὴ καὶ σύνναος τῷ Διὶ προσαπεδείχθη καὶ ἡ Διώνη. Bursian further suggests that Servius (on Verg. *Aen.* iii. 466) had the same combination in mind when he spoke of a temple at Dodona consecrated 'Jovi et Veneri.'<sup>1</sup> Ovid, we know (*Fasti*, ii. 461; v. 309), used *Dione* as synonymous with *Venus*, and the step from the use of *Dione* = *Venus* to that of *Venus* = *Dione* as mother of *Venus* is easy. Doubtless, too, the epithet *Dionaea* helped the confusion.

The epithet Νάϊος (*aqueous*), the special attribute by which Zeus was known at Dodona, and by which he is qualified in the majority of the inscriptions, is not altogether new. The following passages abundantly illustrate the usage: ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος

<sup>1</sup> Carapanos cites the passage in support of his conjecture that a shrine to *Aphrodite* existed on the spot where

he discovered a small wheel of bronze with the dedication: Ὀφελίων Ἀφροδίτᾳ ἀνέθηκε (Pl. xxvi. 1).

καὶ Νάϊος· ὑδρογλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία (S<sup>chol.</sup> in Hom. *Il.* ii. 233); τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ναϊῷ (Dem. *Meid.* l. c.); τὸν δὲ Δωδωναῖον ἔλεγον καὶ Νάϊον (Steph. Byz. in v. Δωδώνη).

The most common formula of interrogation is ἐπερωτᾷ (ἐπερωτῶντι, ἐπερωτεῖ, ἐρωτῇ, ἐπερωτῇ) τὸν Δία τὸν Νάϊον καὶ τὰν Διώναν or ἐπικοινῶνται (ἐπικοινᾶται, ἐπικοινῶνται) τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ναϊῷ καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ. This ἐπικοινᾶσθαι is only a dialectic form for ἐπικοινοῦσθαι, known, as Bursian points out, from Attic usage (Plato, *Prot.* 313 b) in the sense 'to ask one his advice about anything.' Besides these, other formulae occur, as ἐροῦνται, κλεοῦνται (where the meaning is not quite clear), ἱστορεῖ—ἰκετεύει—αἰτεῖ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἰκετεύει. The last two however introduce a prayer rather than a question, though perhaps a question, now lost, followed. The nature of the enquiries is, as might be expected, most various. The consultants are states, corporations or individuals; now it is man and wife together, now a would-be investor, now a suspicious husband, now a seeker after lost property, now a shepherd.

We shall give a better idea of the procedure if we subjoin a more or less detailed account of some of the plates.

The people of Tarentum seek information περὶ παντυχίας and certain other matters. παντυχία is a new word; if Bursian is right in comparing it with πανωλεθρία, we may assign to it the meaning 'general prosperity.' He is however wrong in supposing that we have here a special Tarentine form of the article in [τὰ πό]λις τὰ Ταραντίνων. The true reading is, as Blass shows (*Rhein. Mus.* 1879, p. 160), undoubtedly á; the rude cross before the second *a* stands for **†**, a form of the spiritus asper known from the Tabulae Heracleenses; and what more natural than that the metropolis Tarentum should use the same form as its daughter-town Heraclea? <sup>1</sup> The resemblance in the character of the letters too is sufficiently close to entitle us to assign this to the same age as that generally assumed for the Tabulae Heracleenses, i.e. the period between 324 and 279 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Blass acutely saw that the fragment, Pl. xxxv. 4, of Carapanos formed the missing portion on the left hand of xxxiv. 4, and in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. P. Gardner points out to me that this aspirate is not unusual on coins of Tarentum.

<sup>2</sup> See however Meister, Curt. *Studien*, &c., iv. 360.

this fragment the letters **Α** are quite distinct. We subjoin the text as restored by Blass—

θεὸς		τύχα ἀγαθῇ [ἐπερωτῇ
<b>Α</b> πό		λῖς <b>Α</b> τῶν Ταραν [τίνων
τὸν Δ		ία τὸν Νάιον καὶ τ [ὰν Διῶναν
περὶ		παντυχίας καὶ π...
ταχει		δρῶ καὶ περὶ τῶν...

He proposes in lines 5 and 6 καὶ π[ὼς καὶ τι ἐν | τάχει δρῶ...

Another inscription<sup>1</sup> presents a remarkable example of writing in cursive character; it would seem, however, from its contents to be anterior to the Roman conquest. A people whose name has disappeared, but who should be neighbours of the Molossi, seek to be shown how security may be guaranteed to them if they ally themselves with the Molossi.—A community whose name survives only in a defective form puts a question, the tenor of which cannot now be unriddled.<sup>2</sup> The only decipherable words are, line 1, Ἐπικοινῶται Μον.διατᾶν τὸ κοινὸν περ τον (= τῶν?), and line 3, τι καὶ βέλτιον ἢ (εἰ) κιχρήμεν. Line 2 seems to yield Πύρρω (Π? not Γ) τα (?) θέμις τῷ Νῆα (?) ἐκ τ[ῶ]ν ἐστὶ τα θεμι... In Μον.διατᾶν one letter only appears to be missing and the δ is incomplete. Above at the right-hand corner are the words Δι Νάω καὶ Διῶνα, but as these are written with Ω, which, as well as Η, is absent from the remainder of the inscription (whence we may infer a considerable antiquity), it is likely that the four words form a later addition or are part of another inscription. Although the inscription contains a request made by a community, it is written on the reverse of a plate containing the prayer of individuals. Eubandros and his wife.—The Coreyreans<sup>3</sup> ask to what god or hero they must offer sacrifice or prayer in order to secure the blessings of internal harmony. Pl. xxxiv. 5, though much mutilated, seems to contain a similar request. The digamma is plainly marked in Φοικέσιεν. On the reverse (5 bis) is the monogram Δ.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπερωτῶντι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν . . . |  
ων Δία Νῶν καὶ Διῶναν κα[τὰ] | τί αὐτοῖς  
σιμπολιτεῦνσι[ν] | μετὰ Μολοσσῶν ἀσ-  
φαλῇ ἦ.—Pl. xxxiv. 2. ἀσφαλῇ is best  
explained as neuter plural.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. xxxiv. 3 bis.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐδν Τ[ύ]χαν ἀγαθὰν. | Ἐπ[ι]κοι-  
νῶνται τοῖς Κ[υ]κυρα[ῖοι] τῷ Δι τῷ |  
Νάω καὶ τῷ Δι[ι]ῶνα τίτι καὶ θεῶν ἦ |  
ἡρώων θύει[τ]ες καὶ εὐχ[όμενοι] | ὁμοιο-  
οῖεν ἐ[π]ὶ τῷ γαθόν.—Pl. xxxiv. 4.

So far the demands of public bodies. We now come to those of individuals. We begin with a question put by Eubandros<sup>1</sup> and his wife, who would learn to what god, hero, or δαίμων they must pray and sacrifice, that they and their household may prosper for all time (λαῖον καὶ ἄμεινόν κα πρᾶσσοιεν—a formula which frequently recurs). This inscription is especially interesting from the evidence it affords of a distinctly local dialect. The orthography of Διεῖ perhaps does not call for comment; the final ει for ι may be merely an indication of local pronunciation, just as in Pl. xxxvi. 2 and 5 Δηῶνα for Διῶνα may denote a pronunciation of η approaching the I-sound. But Εὐβανδρος, φεῶν, φύοντες are new, and ἰς almost new, contributions to dialectology. The last may be compared, as regards the vocalism, with the ἰν of the Tegaetan inscription (Cauer, 117, ἰν τὰ ἔργα, cf. ἰγκεχηρήκοι), and with the ἰς πύργο (εἰς πύργον) and ἰς ἐρέμνι (εἰς ἐρέμνιον) of two Pamphylian inscriptions (Cauer, 75, 76). The form does not occur in the Abou Symbul inscription, for the words ἦλθον δὲ Κέρκιος κατύπερθε ΝΙΣ Ο [Ο] ποταμὸς ἀνίη should undoubtedly be read, according to Blass's happy conjecture (*Hermes*, 1878, p. 381, *seqq.*), κατύπερθε, νῖς (= ὅποι) ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνίη, 'as far as the river allowed.' With regard to φεὸς and φύειν G. Curtius, who is probably right in considering the inscription to be Epirotic, remarks (*G. E.* 5th ed. p. 485), that in these instances of labialism we must recognise a dialectic process which at that period<sup>2</sup> presupposes the spirant instead of the aspirate pronunciation of the θ from which the φ came. He aptly compares Modern Greek *Fibac* = Θῆβαι, Russian *Fedor* = θεόδωρος. For the much older φήρ = θήρ he suggests another explanation. It is remarkable that the ordinary form θεός occurs in the initial invocation. Doubtless this was too stereotyped by usage in the ritual of the temple to be displaced by mere local peculiarities. Εὐβανδρος will be readily identified with the familiar Vergilian Evander under another form. The β which Rangabé calls 'eingeschoben' is more accurately explained by Curtius (*G. E.* 5th ed. p. 586) to be a symbol, like

<sup>1</sup> Θεῷ Τύχαν ἀγαθάν. Ἐπικοινῆται Εὐβανδρος καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα τῷ Διεῖ τῷ Νάφ καὶ τῷ Διῶνα τίνοι κα φεῶν ἢ ἡρώων ἢ δαιμόνων | εὐχόμενοι καὶ φύοντες λαῖον καὶ ἄμεινον πρᾶσσοιεν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ οἰκησις καὶ νῦν | καὶ ἰς τὸν ἅπαντα

χρόνον.—Pl. xxxiv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> To judge from the character of the letters, the second century B.C., according to Rangabé, *Arch. Zeitung*, vol. xxxvi. p. 118.

the *F* in the Cyprian Εὐ*Φαγόρας*, for the *w*-sound (we should be inclined to say the *English w*-sound) involuntarily developed out of the *υ* before a vowel. We cannot acquiesce in Rangabé's statement that the *β* is an 'unwiderlegliche Beweis' in favour of the Modern Greek and against the Erasmian pronunciation of *av*, *ευ*, *ηυ*.<sup>1</sup> The letters *Ευαν*, for the ordinary Εὐ*ανδρος*, are written on the reverse side, perpendicularly to the remainder of the inscription. Similarly are engraved the fragments *αρ* and *εἰμε[ν]*. It seems likely that in some cases these letters and isolated syllables found on several of the plates indicate the names of the persons who address the oracle.

To continue: An Ambraciot enquires concerning his health, fortune and general prosperity, and would know what gods he must propitiate ([ί]λασκόμενος) to gain his end. In Carapanos's text, given below,<sup>2</sup> *κα* should probably be added after *θεῶν*.—A man named Socrates wants to know<sup>3</sup> how he may trade most profitably for himself and his family. On the reverse of this plate is the beginning of another query ([Ἐπικοιν]ώνται Διὶ καὶ Δι[ώνῃ]), and a fragment in larger and deeper characters (...101 καὶ ἄμα τι λέγομεν | ...[ἄ]μες γινώμεν τὸ ἰλαθές), which betrays a Doric origin.—Several consultants ask advice in their hesitation between three courses: whether they shall prosper best by going to Elina (a place not otherwise known) or to Anactorium, or by effecting a certain sale; and a woman seeks relief from a disease. These last two queries are on one side of a plate containing on the other three fragmentary lines in Attic, apparently an enquiry about offspring.<sup>4</sup>

Another fragment, also inscribed on both sides, appears to contain a query about the advisability of applying for citizenship in some town or other. The words are: \**Ἡ αἰτέωμαι τὰν ἰ... |*

<sup>1</sup> Whatever sound is here assumed for the *β* (whether a B-sound or a V- or a W-sound) it is perfectly compatible with a genuine *diphthongal* pronunciation of a preceding *av*, *ευ*, *ηυ*.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . ης Ἀμβρακιά[της] Διὶ Ναῖφ καὶ Δη[ώνῃ] | περὶ υγιείας αὐτοῦ [καὶ] | τῶν ὑπαρχόντων [καὶ νῦν] καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα [χρ]ί[ονον, τίνας θεῶν [ί]λασ- κόμενος λώϊον | καὶ ἄμεινον πρό[σσοι].—Pl. xxxvi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> [Τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ναῖφ καὶ τῷ Διῶνῃ

Σωκράτης ἐπικοι | νῆται τί κα | ἐργαζό- μενος λώϊον καὶ ἄμεινον | πρᾶσσοι αὐτ]ὸς καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ γενεᾷ.—Pl. xxxv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> (a) \**Ἡ εἰς Ἑλίναν περὶ ἔλο. . . . | ἥ εἰς Ἀνακτόριον . . . . | ἥ πωλοῦντες τὸν . . . .*

(b) [*Ἐπερωτᾷ . . .*] α *τίνι κα θεῶν θέουσα | [καὶ εὐχομένα ἄμεινον] πρᾶσσοι καὶ τᾶς νόσου | [ἀπαλαχθείη?]*

(c) [*τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Διῶνῃν | . . . τὸν θεὸν ἐπερωτᾷ | . . . ἐκ τῆς γυναικός.*—Pl. xxxv. 1.

πολιτείαν ἐπὶ ταύτ[η?]... | ἡ τοῦ εἰσιόντος (Pl. xxxv. 3). No sense can be extracted from the inscription on the reverse, originally ten lines long. In an inscription evidently complete in itself the enquirer plunges *in medias res* without ceremony of invocation or other introductory formula, and asks: 'Ἡ αὐτός πεπαμένος τὰν ἐπόλι οἰκίαν καὶ τὸ χωρίον, βέλτιόν μοι κ' εἴη καὶ πολυωφελέ[σ]τε[ρ]ον (Pl. xxxvii. 1): 'Whether if I myself have acquired possession of the house in the town and the farm, it will be better and more profitable for me.' The form πεπαμένος is sufficiently familiar; πολυωφελέστερον is due to Blass (*Rhein. Mus.* 1879, Heft i. p. 160). It is not so certain that we should follow him in assuming a mistake of the engraver in ἐπόλι for ἐμ πόλι. We can hardly infer carelessness in all such cases, as e.g. ἐμαντινεία for ἐμ Μαντινεία in the Praxiteles-inscription of Olympia (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1876, p. 48; Cauer, 32), ἐστήλη for ἐν στήλῃ of the Athenian decrees, and the Boeotian ἔπασιν for ἔμπασιν = ἔγκτησιν (*U. I. G.* 1564 = Cauer, 118). The tendency to complete assimilation of consonants is shown also in βέλτιόν μοι. The construction is summarily changed in the apodosis, as in the following inscription (Pl. xxxvii. 3); ...Ἱππόστρατος τῷ Δι τῷ Νάῳ καὶ | [τῇ Διώνῃ τίνα κα θεῶν θύω]ν λῳῶν καὶ ἄμμεϊνομ πράσσοιμι, to the beginning of which perhaps ἐπικοινᾶται should be supplied.—We next find <sup>1</sup> Agis asking about the mattresses and pillows, which have been lost; whether some foreigner (or, some one outside the household?) might have stolen them. Carapanos restores ἀπώλολ[εν αὐτός]; but ἀπώλολεν, doubtless a mistake for ἀπόλωλεν, is surely not transitive in sense. Ἐπερωτεῖ is a new form; <sup>2</sup> so is ἐρωτῇ in an inscription in which Lysanias<sup>3</sup> enquires concerning the paternity of the child of which Annyla is pregnant—δ' Ἀννύλα κύει, as Bursian reads for the ungrammatical ὃ ἂν Νύλα κύει

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπερωτεῖ Ἁγίς Δία Νᾶον [καὶ Διώναν] ὑπὲρ τῶν στρωμάτων κ[αὶ] τῶν προσ[τ] | κεφαλαίων, τὰ ἀπώλολ[εν], ἢ τῶν ξωθέν τις ἂν ἔκ[λεψεν].—Pl. xxxvi. 1. On the reverse, ΑΓ and Β.

<sup>2</sup> For the interchange between the terminations -αω, -οω, -εω in the so-called contracted verbs, it may suffice to refer to Curtius, *Das Verbum*, &c. (Eng. ed. p. 244, seq.).

<sup>3</sup> Ἐρωτῇ Λυσανίας Δία Νδῖον | καὶ Διώναν ἢ οὐκ ἔστι ἐξ αὐτοῦ | τὸ παιδάριον δ' Ἀννύλα κύει.—Pl. xxxvi. 2

The omission of the iota in ἐρωτῇ finds its parallel in inscriptions of a somewhat late date, as this may well be; and even in so old a document as the Tabulae Heraclienses, e.g. ἀμμισ-θωθῇ, i. 112.

of Carapanos. Ἀνρύλα may be a diminutive of the foreign name Ἀννα: an Illyrian female slave Ἀνα is mentioned on a Delphian inscription (Wescher and Foucart, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes* n. 439).<sup>1</sup>—Another inscription, interesting also from a dialectical point of view, records the question, expressed in the first person, of a man who wanted to learn 'whether he should succeed in trading in such way as might seem to him expedient, living (ῥ) where he pleased, and carrying on at the same time his own craft.'<sup>2</sup> The dialect is difficult to determine: ἔμειν for εἶναι reminds us of the Rhodian inscriptions, which however offer no instance of τῥ for ῥ, nor any exact parallel to the vocalism in χρεύμενος. The υ again in ῥπυς, though it would ordinarily bespeak a Boeotic or Aeolic origin, may perhaps be compared with the υι = οι in the Abou-Symbul inscription previously alluded to, which is presumably Rhodian and Doric.<sup>3</sup> The writer may well be a Gelban or Agrigentine; for that the Rhodian colony of Agrigentum had dealings with the Molossians is shown by a decree<sup>4</sup> in Carapanos's collection, in which the Molossians grant the Agrigentines *an mltisse* the title of Proxeni. The characteristic δέμειν appears also in this decree.—In an inscription beginning with the remarkable formula ἐροῦται, κλεοῦται, the enquirer asks<sup>5</sup> 'whether it is a good investment and advantageous to him to take up sheep-farming.' On the reverse, in larger letters,

<sup>1</sup> The name Ἀννα occurs in C. I. G. 4003 *b* (Phrygian), 4315 *c* (Lycian), 4379 *g* (Pisidian), and in several Christian inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Τύχα ἀγαθά. \*Η τυγχάνοιμι κα ἐμπορεύμενος | ὅπως κα δοκῇ σύμφορον ἔμειν καὶ ἄγων τῇ κα δοκῇ | ἅμα τῇ τέχῃ χρεύμενος.—Pl. xxvii. 4.

The plate containing this inscription is literally 'scribbled over.' On the first side can be recognised the words Τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον and some letters of two other inscriptions in large character. On the reverse there are no fewer than four inscriptions: the few decipherable words of one (. . . τι ἀγαθὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτας παραμό[νι]μον . . .) seem to be part of some enquiry touching conjugal fidelity.

<sup>3</sup> Compare also the υῖ κα βάλωνται of a Cretan (Doric) inscription (a treaty between the Hierapytnians and Magnetes, Cauer, No. 461. It is on the same stone with two others, one of which is Rhodian).

<sup>4</sup> Pl. xxviii. 2, ἔδοξε τοῖς Μολοσσοῖς προξενίαν δόμειν τοῖς Ἀκραγαντίνοισι. This document is interesting as being without example in history. Perhaps what is meant is merely something like the honorary title of *fratres* accorded by the Romans to the Aedui (Caes. *B. G.* i. 43; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 25; Cic. *Att.* i. 19). The decree is engraved 'au pointillé' on a plate of bronze.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐροῦται κλεοῦται τὸν Δία καὶ τὰν | Διῶναν αἱ ἐστὶ αὐτοῖ προβατεῦντοι | ἐναῖον καὶ ὠρελίμον.—Pl. xxxviii. 1.

are the words *περ προβατείας*, doubtless indicating the subject of the other side. *ὄναιον* is new to the Lexicon; *αὐτοῖ* for *αὐτῷ* is also to be noticed.<sup>1</sup> *Ἐροῦται* may be a collateral form from *ἔρομαι*, but *κλεοῦται* is harder to explain. May it be cognate to *καλέω*, *κελεύω*, *κέλομαι*, with the sense 'calls upon,' 'appeals to'? See however Curtius, *G. E.*, No. 29, b.—An Athenian, Diognetos, son of Aristomedes, 'begs and beseeches you, Lord and Master, Zeus Naïos and Dione, and you Dodonaean, to grant (a certain favour) to himself and all his well-wishers and his mother Clearete (*τεῖ μητρὶ Κλεαρέτει*).'<sup>2</sup> The inscription is incomplete. The dialect is Attic; the form *ει* for *η* in the dative feminine of A-stems is not uncommon in Athenian inscriptions, *e.g.* in the expression *δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλευῖ*.—Another plate seems to contain a question relating to the inscribing, sealing, and dedicating of a writing-tablet (*πινάκιον*) at Dodona.<sup>3</sup> Among the dialectic peculiarities the terminations of *γραφθῆμεν*, *σαμανθῆμεν* are well enough known from inscriptions (Ahrens, *Dor.* p. 315). *σαμήων* for *σημείων* would supply Ahrens with at least one certain example from a sufficiently old inscription of Doric *η* for *ει* when followed by a vowel. According to him (*Dor.* p. 164) instances like *πλήονας*, *χρήας*, *ἐπιτάδης*, *ἄσαμήωτος*, are to be found only 'in titulis infimae aetatis,' *e.g.* *C. I. G.* 2060 (= Cauer, 35), written in the time of Tiberius or Caligula.—In a fragment in which Amyntas appears to enquire concerning the prosperity of his son,<sup>4</sup> the letters *εγ Χιο* are lightly traced under the name *Ἀμύντα[ς]*. These may be the remnant of another inscription, or may mark

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtless a locative form used for the dative, as is plainly the case in the Elean Damocrates-inscription lines 21 and 28 (Cauer, No. 116).

<sup>2</sup> [Θεὸς Τύχῃ] ἀγαθὴ | Δέσποτα ἄναξ  
Zeῦ Νάϊε καὶ Διώνῃ | καὶ Δωδωναῖοι (sic),  
αἰτεῖ ὑμᾶς | καὶ ἱκετεύει Διόγνητος Ἀρισ-  
τομή]δου Ἀθηναῖος δοῦναι αὐτῷ | καὶ  
τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ εὐνοῖς ἅπασιν | καὶ τεῖ μητρὶ  
Κλεαρέτει καὶ . . . —Pl. xxxviii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> . . . σιος καὶ τῶν σαμήων τῶν ἀρυσ-  
| . . . [ε]σαμάνατο οὐδ' ἐπανέθετο αἰ  
σ | [ὑμφορον ἐλθεῖν εἰ]ς Δωδῶναν περὶ τοῦ  
πινακίου | . . . λα δν ἐκελήσατο οὐδὲ  
τέχνα | . . . ε γράφθημεν καὶ σαμάνθη-

μεν.—Pl. xxxviii. 2.

*πινάκια* in *C. I. G.* 76, are according to Boeckh 'sygraphae mutui, diptychis s. codicillis inscriptae,' and on the word in *C. I. G.* 50, which is a list of *donaria* (§ 33, *Δακτύλιος χρυσοῦς* [σὺν ?] *πινάκιω* δν κ . . . ἀνέθηκε Ἀρτεμίδι Βραυρωνίᾳ), he remarks, 'exiguam puto tabellam operis tessellati esse, quales nos quoque in anulis gestamus.'

<sup>4</sup> Ἐπερωτεῖ Ἀμύντα . . . | Δ[ί]α Νά]ϊον  
καὶ Διώναν | ἥ λῶϊον καὶ ἄμει[νον ὑπὲρ  
το]ῦ παιδὸς | . . . ἀγάσασθαι (?).—Pl.  
xxxviii. 4.

the nationality of Amyntas.—Finally, Heraclidas prays for the blessings of good fortune, and asks whether he will have other offspring than his child Αἴγλη.<sup>1</sup> The dialect, to judge from τύχην ἀγαθὴν, γεινῆς, Αἴγλης, is Ionic in origin. On the reverse an enquiry is made (ἵστορεῖ) by one Nicocrates.

If we add further that on Pl. xxxvi. 4, Carapanos makes out a word πορπατία (?); that Pl. xxxvi. 6 appears to run: Ἡ συμπεῖθον[τι] | αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τ[ο]ῦ πράγματος ὅ[ν] τινά κα τρόπ[ον] | ...α...αταια... | κιμον βέλτιο[ν] | καὶ ἄμεινον | Πυστακίων (?) ἰσσεῖται (?); we may return to the question, Do any of the fragments contain answers given by the oracle? That these, if they survived, should have survived in much smaller numbers, was *a priori* to be expected. It was only natural that, if indeed they were committed to writing at all, the enquirers should carry away home with them the precious tablets. The fragments in which Carapanos recognizes answers or portions of answers are the following:—

(a) [τῷ πι]στεύοντι τι ἀλαθέ[ς]. (Pl. xxxv. 6.)

(b) ἐπὶ [ὄ]λα τις. (Pl. xxxvi. 1 bis.)

(c) [τό]δε τὸ μαντήιον ἐγὼ χρήω κε ἀλάες. (Pl. xxxviii. 5.)

(d) ἑάλλαν μαστεῖν. (Pl. xxxviii. 6.)

And further the plate (xxxviii. 7) containing a fragment of a prayer analogous to that of the Athenian Diognetos,<sup>2</sup> was concealed in its central portion by another fragment of lead adherent to it, and wrapped in the larger plate. On the smaller can be read σαυτῷ κ... | αὐτῷ ἐτ... | τοῖς αὐτοῦ γ[ονεύσι ?]. Carapanos, whose reading is slightly different, says that three other small plates are found in a similar way to be wrapped in larger plates, all containing inscriptions. The most probable explanation, he thinks, is that the larger contain the question put to the oracle, and the smaller the answer returned. A photograph of such a combination is given in no. 3 of Pl. xl.

With regard to the first of the examples quoted (a), Carapanos remarks, ‘La ressemblance de formes avec les lames de

<sup>1</sup> [Θεός] Ἡρακλ[ε]ίδας αἰτεῖ τὸν [Δία τὸν Νάϊον καὶ τὴν Διώνην δοῖναι αὐν.] | [τῷ] τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ τ[οῖς] αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτᾷ] | . . . . περὶ γεινῆς ἥ ἔστα[μι] αὐτῷ ἑτέρα] . . . | ι Αἴγλης τῆς νῦν

ἔχει.—Pl. xxxviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Syntax is quaint: Ζεῦ Νῶτε . . . . | ἱκετεύει Γ . . . . [κ] | αἱ δοῦναι ἐ[μ]αυτῷ . . . . καὶ | τῷ | μου νίει κ[αὶ] . . . . | θ[υγατρὶ] καὶ | παῖσι . . .

la planche xxxviii. Nos. 5 et 6, et le sens de ce qui reste de l'inscription peuvent la faire classer parmi les réponses de l'oracle.' If by 'formes' he means the forms of the letters engraved, it must be said, on the other hand, that on many of the plates containing *queries* the resemblance of forms is sufficiently close to those of the three plates containing supposed answers, so that no stress can be laid on the resemblance of these latter to one another. Of the sense of the words which remain (τῷ πιστεύοντί τι ἀλαθές), the most that can be said is that it is not against the conclusion of Carapanos. The same remark applies to the words ἐπὶ [ὅ]λα τις (*h*), of which, in spite of his restoration, he suggests no interpretation. The fourth fragment on the list (*d*) has been more satisfactorily explained otherwise by Bursian, who refers to another plate (xxxvi. 4), on the reverse of which we read ἔἄλλαν οἰκέσ [-ας] *i.e.* ἢ ἄλλαν οἰκήσ[ας or -αντες] or οἰκησιν.<sup>1</sup> So ἢ ἄλλαν μαστεύει (for μαστεύει) should mean 'or does he seek another?' In that case the ε for η, arguing a respectable antiquity, furnishes one more instance of the use of the pre-Ionic Alphabet in these inscriptions. We pointed out one such case on p. 233. The remaining example (*e*), τὸ μαντή[ι]ον ἐγὼ χρήω, 'I give this response,' has certainly all the appearance of being an oracular answer. Mr. Gardner's objection (*Academy*, August 17, 1878), that the κε ἀλάες which follows does not seem well fitted for an oracular reply, loses its force from the fact that on the plate these letters are added by a different hand. The facsimile has ΜΑΝΤΗΚΟΝ in the first line, but the K is close to a fracture, and the two shorter strokes may be only rays in the lead. The Ionism in χρήω and μαντήιον, as Bursian remarks, seems out of place at Dodona; but it is conceivable that the deity through his sage Peleias may have answered the enquirers each in his own tongue; or a simpler explanation is that the oracular answers at Dodona, like those of other oracles, were expressed in a dialect of strongly *epic* colouring, as at Delphi, where the local dialect was certainly not epic.

We have now examined in detail all the inscriptions in Carapanos's collection out of which it is possible to extract or infer any meaning. There remain a few fragments repre-

<sup>1</sup> [Θεὸς τύχαν ἀγ]αθὰν. Πότερα τυν- Can εταν be for ἢ τάν—'either this or  
χ[όνομι] | . . . εταν ἔ ἄλλαν οἰκέσ . . . another'?

sented on Plates xxxvii. and xxxix. In these the individual letters are for the most part plain, but only here and there can a word be made out. In xxxix. 4, the name [A]λεξίμαχος is clear.

The examination has established a new proof of the considerable part which the consultation of the oracle played in the public and private life of the ancient Greeks. In circumstances of importance or embarrassment the consulting Greek had recourse to the omniscient deity, and sought from him the means of succeeding in an enterprise or grappling with a difficulty in very much the same way, to use Mr. Carapanos's simile, as we now consult a lawyer or a physician. The surviving inscriptions doubtless form but a very small portion of the mass which must have accumulated at Dodona during a series of centuries; but those which we possess range over a long period of time, from perhaps the fifth century B.C. to the date of the final destruction of the temple in 88 B.C., or even later. Aptly confirming the testimony of authors to the widespread fame of the oracle, these haphazard survivals depict for us as seeking the help of the god, not only the simple peasant of the neighbourhood, but members of other Greek communities far and near—Ambraciots, Coreyreans, Tarentines, Ionians, Athenians. We may perhaps confess to a little disappointment that on the whole neither in the oracle inscriptions nor in the others of the Dodonean collection is the gain to Greek dialectology as great as might have been expected. Nor is our previous knowledge of the history of the Greek Alphabet greatly increased or confirmed. None the less welcome, however, is the munificent contribution of Mr. Carapanos to the history of the social and political life of Ancient Greece.

E. S. ROBERTS.

## ON SOME PAMPHYLIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

IN an interesting paper which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1877, Dr. Friedländer has brought together some remarkable inscriptions on coins of some Pamphylian cities; but it cannot be said that he has added anything to their elucidation beyond what had been already done by the late J. Siegismund in Curtius' *Studien*, vol. ix. p. 87. During the last few weeks before I left England, my attention was drawn to these and to the long inscription from Assarkeui, the ancient Sillyon, which is given very inaccurately in Böckh, *C. I. G.*,<sup>1</sup> and more correctly by Hirschfeld in the *Monatsber. d. Berl. Ak.* 1874, p. 714; and the following notes are the result of the conversations and correspondence which I had with Professor Sayce on the subject. Throughout the paper, Professor Sayce's name will often recur, but it must be distinctly understood that even where his name is not mentioned, and where he might not agree with the views expressed, his suggestions have been used, and the whole might have been more justly, as it would doubtless have been better, written by him.

I put forth the paper with much diffidence, as I have been obliged to write it without access to a good library, and am therefore obliged to trust to memory for a great many facts, and to want the additional light which good authorities would supply. Hence throughout the paper few references are given, and these usually in general terms. Several times Ahrens's articles in *Philologus*, xxxv. xxxvi., on the Cyprian Dialect are quoted as Ahrens, *Cypr.*, no clearer reference being possible.

<sup>1</sup> iii. 1160 sq. See also Bailie, Ed.), and Lebas, *Voyage archéologique, Fasciculus Inscriptionum*, ii. 229, iii. 1377 (and p. 335). Kirchhoff, *Studien* &c. p. 44 sq. (3rd

I. I begin with the inscription found on certain coins **ΣΕΛΥΨΙΥΣ**. These coins are thus described<sup>1</sup>—

- (1) Obv. Head of bearded warrior r.  
Rev. Male figure standing. Inscription.
- (2) Obv. Head of Apollo r. laureate.  
Rev. Zeus Aetophoros seated. Inscription.
- (3) Obv. Same.  
Rev. Thunderbolt. Inscription.

They belong to about the third century B.C. According to Friedländer (*l. c.*), they were at one time attributed to the town of Selge in Pisidia, and M. Waddington first rightly assigned them to Sillyon. The coins of this city from a little before the Christian era generally bear the legend **ΣΙΛΛΥΕΩΝ**; but the spelling varied very much in ancient times, as we have the forms **Σίλωνον**, **Σύλλιον**, **Σύλειον**, **Σύλλον**, and **Σύλαιον**. In the Sillyon inscription, line 3 (and probably line 1), we find the same adjective as on the coins in the form **ΣΕΛΥΨΙΙΟΣ**. A third form, **ΣΕΛΥΨΙΙΥΣ**, must have been used, though I do not know that any instance of it has been preserved. Of the legend, the latter part, **ΙΙΥΣ**, is found on the coins of Aspendus treated by Siegismund (*l. c.*), **ΕΣΤΦΕΔΙΙΥΣ**, and has been rightly explained by Friedländer following him. The second **Ι** represents the **Υ** sound developed after **ι** before a vowel. In Lycian also after **Ε**, which denotes the Greek **Ι**, **ι** is inserted before a vowel. The original **Ο** of the termination sometimes becomes **Υ** as in the Latin Second Declension, and thus **ΙΙΥΣ** has been evolved from the regular Greek ending **ιος**.

There remains now only the **Ψ** to be explained. This symbol also occurs several times in the Sillyon inscription; and its value has not as yet, so far as I know, been determined. It seemed to me at first that it must be a sound like the English *u* or *w*; but Professor Sayce suggested more accurately that it had in many cases a syllabic value, which is, I think, quite certain. In the case before us it can represent only the *w* sound evolved after *υ* before a vowel. The termination **-ιο-** has to be added to the stem **Σελου** or **Σελυ**, and in the pronunciation of

<sup>1</sup> For the description of these and other coins I am indebted to Mr. Percy

Gardner, on whose authority also I give the period to which they belong.

the country two parasitic sounds were developed after the *u* and after the *i*. One might expect that the parasitic sound should be indicated by *£*, which symbol also occurs in the Pamphylian inscription, and on this account Friedländer remarks that **W** cannot have the value here assigned to it. But it is not so unusual to find more than one symbol in one single alphabet to indicate the *u* sound in different situations. Thus we find in Lycian also that, besides the *£*, there is another symbol, **)(**, to which, when doubled, M. Schmidt assigns with undoubted correctness the value *uu*. If it be argued that Schmidt considers *£* in Lycian to be a surd, like the English *I*, and that therefore another symbol was needed for the sonant in question, we may reply that Savelsberg (*Beitr. z. Entzifferung der Lyk. Sprach-Denkm.* p. 17) advances some strong arguments to show that *£* was in Lycian a sonant letter, and that there were three distinct symbols in Lycian to represent the English *e* or *u*, viz.: *£*, **)(**, which represents it only after itself in the combination *uu*, and **Y**, which represents it only in the combinations **AYA**, **EYA**, **OYA**, **AYO**, *aya*, *eya*, *oya*, and *ayu*. This is not the place to inquire whether Schmidt or Savelsberg is right; but on either supposition we have sufficient confirmation of the double symbol in Pamphylian.

I shall try to show that in the Sillyon inscription a rule is followed in the use of **W**.

(1) We have the use already indicated, between *u* and a following vowel; the word **ΣελυWιYος** probably occurs twice, lines 1 and 3.

(2) It is often found before *o*; in lines 14 and 17 it is used probably in the word **Φοῖκον**, Pamphylian **Wοικυ**. The close relationship of *o* and *u* makes this very natural. L. Meyer has shown that in Homer the digamma is preserved much more completely before *o* than before any other letter, which shows that in this situation it had a different and more decided value than in the other cases. It also occurs before *o* in **HEWOTAIΣ** (lines 7 and 9), **Wοικ...** (line 3).

(3) It occurs in the combination **ΑΣWΤΥ** (line 15); where, if the reading is correct, it must have a syllabic value.

(4) It occurs in the words **αWταισι** (lines 7 and perhaps 26) and **απ' ἐWπραξίας** (line 21). There is abundant evidence

that some peculiarity in the pronunciation of the two diphthongs, *av* and *ev*, was common in the south-western parts of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> We have in the Lycian bilingual inscription of Lewdisu *αδτῶ* and *έαστῶν*: on a coin of Cnidus, *Εδβῶλο* for *Εὐβουλου*; in the inscription from Mycale (*C. I. G.* No. 2909), *αδοί*; in that from Priene (*C. I. G.* No. 2907), *λεέκοις*; in that from Samos (see *G. Curtius, Hist. Program.* 1873), *εδῖοιαν, ταῶτα, αδῶν, έαστῶν, αδοῖς, αδοῖς*; in the Carian inscription published by Mr. Newton in the appendix to his *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, *αδτῶ*; and many cases might be quoted from Erythrae and Chios.<sup>2</sup> In this pronunciation the number of syllables remained the same, for in the Priene inscription *λεέκοις* is a spondee. The Ionic form *ῶντός*, usual in Herodotus, is probably closely akin, as I shall try to show. Savelsberg, who gives most of these instances, considers that the *υ* (which must therefore, he argues, have retained its ancient value *u*, and not suffered the modification common in Greek) has passed into the closely akin sound *o*; but long before I imagined that the intermediate step was *afo*, *εfo*, and I think that the Pamphylian forms confirm this view. These must, according to the ideas here advanced, represent the English value *avutos*, *eva-pu*...; and in the Ionic, Lycian, and Carian forms a very slight change resulting from the tendency to dissimilation produced *afo*, *εfo*, like the Latin *collus*, &c., and finally *άo*, *έo*; while in Herodotus *af* became by an easy and common transition *ω*.

This parasitic *W* sound has a tendency to come in quite as much before as after the *υ* to separate it from another vowel: and similarly the parasitic *Y* is found both before and after an original *ι*. Thus in modern Greek we have *όγιος* for *οἶος*, where of course *γ* is pronounced *Y*. No one will think it difficult that *afo*, *εfo* should make only a single syllable in pronunciation, if he looks at the way in which modern Greek runs together several vowels and semivowels into one syllable.

While in Sillyon the two symbols seem to have been used side by side according to definite rules, we need not be surprised to find **W** employed in other parts of the country instead of **Y**, *i.e.* in cases where the rules observed in the Sillyon inscription would lead us to expect **Y**. This seems to be the case on

<sup>1</sup> The forms alluded to occur in other parts of Greece, *e.g.*, Amphipolis, Crete, &c., but not so frequently.

<sup>2</sup> An instance from Delos, *supra*, p. 59.

II. The coins of Perga. On silver and copper coins struck after the time of Alexander we find a remarkable legend, **ΛΑΝΑΨΑΣΠΡΕΙΑΣ**. The silver coins, which are larger and much clearer, bear on the obverse a sphinx seated, and on the reverse Artemis standing, holding wreath and sceptre. They belong to the second century B.C. Friedländer (*l.c.*) showed that the first letter of the legend is not **M** as it was formerly read, but **N** retrograde. The legend is obviously the name or a title of the goddess in the genitive case, just as we have on later coins of the city **ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ**. The second part, **ΠΡΕΙΑΣ**, is certainly the genitive singular feminine of the adjective. The name of the city, Perga, is an adjectival form, which is also found with the superlative termination *-ma-*, as the name of a city or citadel: it is derived from the root *bhargh*, in Sanskrit *br̥ih*, to raise or cause to grow great.<sup>1</sup> Hence the present participle is *bharghant*, in Sanskrit *br̥ihant*, strong, high, thick. A shorter form of this is *bhargha*, which was at a very early time differentiated into the two forms preserved in modern German *berg* and *burg*. Corresponding to these we have in Greek *πέργα*, *πέργαμα*, and *πέργο*: the sense of high or strong place remaining throughout. When the word *περγα* became a proper name, the adjective was formed from it by the suffix (*γα*, or) *ια*, the latter of which Benfey (*Gött. Abhandl.* 1870) has shown to be the more ancient; the Greek form of the suffix is *-ιο-*; and thus we should have the word *περγιο*. In the local pronunciation *ερ* became *ρε*, a change which was first discussed by Benfey, *Ueber ri, rī, li, lī im Orient und Occident*, vol. ii., and afterwards by J. Schmidt in *Indog. Vokalismus*. In modern Greek the change is frequent; alongside of *πικρός*, we find *πρικός* and *Πρικοχάροντας* as common epithets of the Angel of Death; *ἀδελφός*, *ἀδερφός*, and *ἀδρεφός*, all occur. So in ancient Greek *Ἀφροδίτη* and *Ἀφορδίτα*. Then the *γ* between the two vowels was softened to *ϝ*, a change which has become almost the rule in modern Greek. Thus we have the form *πρεϝιο*, on the coin in the genitive singular

<sup>1</sup> In the case of roots containing a double aspirate, the consonants are liable to great alterations: see Kuhn on *Τελχίν* and on *Κένταυρος* in *Zft. f.*

*vgl. Spr.* vol. i. p. 173, and Grassmann in vol. xii. Fick (*Ugl. Worth.* vol. ii. p. 421) compares *πίθος*, *πιθάκη*, *φιδάκν* *πύνδαξ* for *φύνδαξ*, *πυθμήν*, *βυθμός*.

feminine, ΠΡΕΪΑΣ, where the Ψ is represented by the symbol **1**, as in ΣΕΛΥΨΙΟΣ.

ΨΑΝΑ ΨΑΣ must therefore be the genitive of the name or epithet of the goddess. Ψ is not unlike the Greek Ψ, but to understand it in this value as Friedländer gives a hopeless word. In the Carian inscriptions the symbol Ψ occurs, and Professor Sayce had conjectured that there it has the value σσ. When I saw this among his notes, it at once occurred to me that this was the value required on the coins of Perga: and in the ordinary Greek characters we have then the form *Φανάσσας Πρεγίας*, the γ being pronounced as it would be in modern Greek. **1** and **2** occur as equivalent forms in the Phœnician alphabet. I believe that this symbol Ψ or **1** was used in the alphabets of Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia to denote a sibilant, which is not recognised in the Greek alphabet, though it was probably used by them at least in parts of the country. In Lycian the value of Ψ has been variously given. It is certainly near enough to the guttural series to be used in the combination **2** ΣΣ or ΨΠ with the value of the Greek ξ. It cannot be the Greek κ, which occurs in Lycian: and Lassen, Sharpe, &c., were certainly wrong in taking it as **Γ** (see M. Schmidt, *Vorstudien z. Entzifferung der Lyk. Spr. und Corpus of Lycian Inscr.*). Schmidt himself assigned it the value *th*: but in his *Neue Lykische Studien* he publishes without comment a paper by Pertsch giving it a value between *k* and *s*, viz. the palatal sibilant, Sanskrit **ṣ**. It is used once to correspond to the Greek ξ in the name of Pixodares, the Carian prince: on the other hand, the Greeks sometimes spelt this Carian name Πισέδαρος, and a coin perhaps gives Πισώδα[ρος] (see Pertsch, *l. c.* p. 7).<sup>1</sup>

In the Cyprian dialect Ahrens (*Opus.*) has shown that a similar sibilant existed. It occurs in the syllabary in conjunction with the vowels *a*, *e*, and *o*: but though this same symbol Ψ or **1** occurs in the syllabary, it is used for the dental sibilant, and other symbols are employed for the palatal sibilant. Ahrens has shown that this sibilant is used especially where in Attic σσ would occur; and it is in regard to the word *φάρασσα* that he

<sup>1</sup> It may be some confirmation of Pertsch's view that, long before seeing his paper, I expressed the idea here

indicated about the Lycian symbol in a letter to Prof. Sayce, and met with his complete approval.

first has occasion to speak of it. Now it is a well-known fact that  $\sigma\sigma$  in Greek has usually taken the place of a guttural or dental surd followed by  $\chi$ -,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$  for  $\theta\alpha\kappa$ - $\iota\omega\nu$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$  for  $\kappa\rho\epsilon\tau$ - $\iota\omega\nu$ . So with the suffix  $\chi\alpha$ , or  $\iota\alpha$ , we have  $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\chi\alpha$  becoming  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ . Now, it is certain that this combination  $\kappa + \chi$  sometimes retained more of its guttural character, and so we have  $\delta\omicron\kappa$ - $\chi\alpha$  becoming  $\delta\omicron\chi\alpha$ , and  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ - $\chi\alpha$  for  $\delta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ - $\chi\alpha$ , the Attic  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , becoming  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha$ .<sup>1</sup> Many other cases occur where a similar variation between  $\xi$  and  $\sigma$  points to the difficulty caused to the Greeks by this sibilant.  $\Delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\rho\nu\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\text{Ζώννυξος}$  both occur;  $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\delta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\Pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$  have just been mentioned;  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  has the dialectic forms  $\epsilon\varsigma$  or  $\epsilon\sigma\sigma$ , &c. In Attic this sibilant disappeared entirely, and  $\sigma\sigma$  was there a sharp dental; but in the south-west countries of Asia Minor, as in Cyprus, it remained in full power, and when the common Greek alphabet was adopted by them, they required a special symbol for it.

These facts tell strongly in favour of Professor Sayce's ingenious conjecture about the value of the Carian symbol, and constitute a new proof of the common origin of those alphabets of Asia Minor which were replaced by the Greek.

Another form of the same symbol is  $\text{𐌶}$ . It is found in the inscription from Halicarnassos published by Mr. Newton, *Hist. Disc.* No. 1, and on coins of Mesembria in the legends  $\text{ΜΕΤΑ. ΜΕΤΑΜΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ}$ . In the inscription, a copy of which is not at hand, the symbol is used only in Carian names such as  $\text{ὍθαΤάΤιος, ΠαννάΤιος}$ : and it cannot be  $\tau\alpha\tau$ , which occurs in the ordinary form.  $\text{Παννάσσις}$ , and many other names in  $-\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\varsigma$  gen.  $-\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , are found in the Carian inscription quoted above from Mr. Newton's essays. The  $\text{𐌶}$  of the one inscription corresponds to  $\sigma\sigma$  of the other. The sibilant in the name of the Thracian city had the same palatal value: cp.  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ .

III. The results hitherto attained help us in some degree with the long inscription from Sillyon. It is on a stone built into a church, and Hirschfeld remarks that, though the letters have

<sup>1</sup> Ahrens, in the passage referred to, has traced the history of this remarkable Epirote form. It is alluded to below, Sillyon inscription, note on line 7.

Fick, in *Beizenberger's Beitr.* vol. i., explains  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\chi\alpha$  as the tense stem of the weak aorist employed as a noun. I prefer Ahrens' explanation as above.



ΞΥΔ'ΕΓΙΑΚΑΙΗΠΑΡΟΙΣΙΜΑΓΕ//ΜΗΕΛΕΞΕΛΥΝ..Α  
 ΙΑ//ΠΑΡ...ΕΣΙ//ΟΞΥΠΑΡΚΑΔΑΙ'ΙΩΣΘΙΔΠΕΥΙΓ/  
 ΤΡΩΟΙΚ//ΛΣΕΕ//ΤΥΚΜΕΒΛΥΗΙΟΞΠΑΧ//ΠΑΣ//  
 ΛΑΠΑΚΕΚΡΑΜΕΜΟΣΕΣΕΠ,ΤΕΗΠΑΙΣΠΟΛΙΜΑ//  
 ΔΠΑΠΕΔΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΡΕΤ,ΙΑΡΥΛΙΜΗΣΔ  
 ΟΣΑΚΑΙΤΙΜΑΦΕΞΑΠΟΣΑΒΑΤΙΑΡΙΠΕΜ'ΙΔ  
 ΑΤΡΟΠΟΙΣΙΠΕΡΤΙΡΕΜΙΑΝΤΑΙΣΙΝΗΜΟΤΑ//Σ  
 ΕΒΟΛΑΣΕΤΥΑΔΡΗΟΜΑΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΝ  
 ΡΑΙΕΗ,ΚΑΙΜΙΡΕΙΑΛΕΤΙΚΑΙΕΦΗΜΟΤΑΙ//  
 ΠΑΣΜΑΜΕΤΥΣΚΑΙΜΗΕ'Α//ΤΥΣΚΑΙΔ//  
 ΟΕΦΠΟΛΗΓΙΕΛΘΟΥ//ΔΙΔΕΑΣΤΕΡΕΣ//  
 ΤΑΙΣΙΚΑΙΜΙΣ//ΚΔΓΥΚΑ//ΓΕΦΕΡΣΧΟΔΥΚΑ//  
 ΚΑΘΕΔΥΚΑΙΗΓΗΙΑΜΕΙΕΚΑΙΥΒΟΛΕΜΕΥΣ+  
 ΑΙΜΙΩΟΙΚΥΠΟΛΙΣΕ+ΕΤΟΚΑΡΗΟΚΑΔΕΣ  
 ΑΣΜΙΤΥΜΑΛΙΑΜΗΑΖΛΕΣΘΟΗΑΤΡΕΚΑΔ'  
 ΔΙΚΑΣΤΕΡΕΣΚΑΙΑΡΖΥΡΟΤΑΙΜΕΕΣΑΖΟΔΙΚ  
 ΑΠΙΡΟΤΑΣΚΑΘΑΜΕΤΟΚΑΙΜ'ΩΟΙΚΥΠΟΛΙ  
 ΣΤΕΡΕΣΔΕΚΑΙΑΡΖΥΡΟΤΑΙΑΜΕΑΜΕ  
 ΑΜΗΙΕΣΔΥΒΣΔΕΦΥΣΕΛΑΙΟΔΥΔΗΑΣΤΕΡΕΣ  
 ΑΣΔΕΜΟΖΑΙΗΑΙΡΕΜΕΕΣΑΖΟΔΙ//ΜΕΣ  
 ΟΔΥΑΜΑΤΙΡΕΕΜΗΕ...ΔΑΙΕΩΠΡΑ  
 ΕΣΠΕΡΙΖΕΡΑΣΗΠΑΡΥΣΕ...ΕΤΑΙΚΑΝΙΘΕΡ  
 ΡΗΕΚΑΙΜΗΕΙΑΛΕΚΑΙΜΙΣΑΜΑΔΙΜΟΣΑΜΑ  
 ΠΟΛΙΣΔΕΘΑΦΕ+ΕΤΟΚΑΙΣΠΑΠΙ...ΤΑΣΒΟΡΑΚΑΙ//ΤΟΛΔ  
 ΟΝΙΚΑΙΟΡΟΦΥΚΛΙ//  
 ΙΚΟΚΕΣΘΑΙΠΕΡΑΥ//  
 ΙΣΕΡΣΕΚΑΦΑΜΕ//  
 ΕΣΔΑΙΒΓΑΤΕΥΛ//  
 ΟΙΣΙΠΟΛΙΣΟΜΥΣΥ//  
 ΚΑΙΑΠΕΛΟΝΑΠΥΤ  
 //ΠΑΡΥΗΛΙ//  
 //ΦΕΡΟΜΟΙΜΕΙ  
 //ΔΥΓΙΑΩΡΙΣ  
 //ΤΑΚΑΤΕ+ΟΛ  
 //ΑΚΑΚΑΙΤ//  
 //ΤΑΣ//

//ΗΕ,ΕΙΕ  
 //ΛΑΞΕ//ΛΙ  
 //Ε+ΣΙ  
 //Δ//  
 //ΑΜΑ+Α//  
 //ΑΙΥΠΕΡ//  
 //ΥΣ//Ο//  
 //ΚΑΙΕΖΙΟ  
 //ΚΙΣΙΗΛ//  
 //Ε+ΕΣΙΜ//  
 //ΟΤΛΣΛ//

been partly obliterated, the stone seems complete. I therefore assume (1) that we have the opening of the inscription in the first line; (2) that most of the lines are complete on the left side; (3) that the long line 24 is nearly complete, and as the addition of two letters makes it run into the following line, the number of letters to the line throughout the inscription is about 45. So far as I know, Kirchhoff (*Gesch. d. Gr. Alph.*) is the only person who has published any detailed account of the inscription, and he has not advanced very far. Of the two symbols explained above, only one **W**, occurs in this inscription.

The alphabet used is as follows:—**A B Γ Δ Ε** or <sup>1</sup> **B F H** as the aspirate, once as *da*, **Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ +** and **W**. Symbols occurring once and probably imperfect are **X, E** and **I**. **b** is perhaps the old form of **B**, as in Lycian.

Of the explanations proposed in the following notes, I am conscious that many are exceedingly doubtful; but I have offered many suppositions in the hope that some happier wit may either be helped by them to reach the truth, or at least be warned against error.

It is probable that Sillyon was, like Side and Aspendos, a Greek colony, though we do not know what was the mother city. In a barbarous country, where the Greek element was not strong, the speech of the colonists became very corrupt; and Arrian tells us of the neighbouring city of Side that the dialect there spoken was unintelligible.

The similarity to the modern Greek is often striking: but, as my acquaintance with the modern language is slight, I have refrained from mentioning any such analogy except where it was necessary to give support to the explanation proposed. It is interesting to find this advanced post of Hellenic civilisation in the midst of barbarous surroundings passing so early over the same path of change in respect of vocalisation that Greece itself afterwards more slowly traversed. At the same time we might expect to find in the inscription non-Greek words, and certainly there are many which I cannot explain; but till the general character of the inscription is better ascertained, more ignorance would not justify one in declaring words to be non-Greek.

<sup>1</sup> Unless **ΣΒΑ** in line 3 is a mistake of engraver or copyist.

With regard to the age of the inscription, Kirchhoff remarks (*l. c.*) that this can hardly be fixed. The fixed and regular writing shows that it is not very old. The style of the letters is almost exactly that of the Ionic alphabet used in the inscriptions at Abu Simbel: hence any influence of the Ionic must have been exerted not later than the end of the seventh century B.C. But it is not certain that Sillyon learned the alphabet from Ionia; it may have got it from Argos, as the neighbouring Aspendos was an Argive colony.<sup>1</sup>

Other considerations also, I think, mark the inscription as of no early date. In the first place, though the dialect is clearly Doric, I fancy that occasionally it shows traces of the influence of the Attic language and civilisation. And, secondly, the degeneration of the dialect has proceeded so far in the direction in which modern Greek or Rumanian has altered that it is not easy to assign a very early date to the inscription.

On the other hand, after Greek influence and literature had completely triumphed in Asia, it is probable that the public documents of such a city as this would be written in common Greek, or at least that the ordinary Greek language would have influenced it much more than is here the case.

In the inscriptions on the coins of Perga the native dialect is retained till the second century B.C.; but in that century the common Greek seems to have established itself as the official language, and begins to be employed on the coins. In the coins of Sillyon there seems to be a gap between those of the third or second century B.C., with the legend in the native dialect, and those with the Greek legend, which begin not long before the Christian era; so that we are deprived of evidence from this side as to the period when the provincial dialect gave place to the cultivated dialect as the language of the educated class and of public documents. In this inscription the alphabet is probably in a fluctuating condition. Whether learned from Ionia, or from Argos, or perhaps from Corinth, the alphabet used in this state had retained the antique forms long after these had been modified all over Greece. But when this inscription was engraved, the usual Greek forms of the letters

<sup>1</sup> I have only an early edition of Kirchhoff, *Gr. Alph.*, in which he does not mention Pamphylian; and

accordingly I quote from memory and a few notes made in the British Museum.

were well known, and had in some cases established themselves almost completely. Thus **E** and **B** occur regularly, except in lines 2 and 3, where the old forms **B** and **Β** are used. **H**, on the other hand, usually denotes the *spiritus asper*, but in one case at least it seems to be used as *cta*. It might therefore be safe to assert that the inscription dates between 300 and 150 B.C.

As to the drift of the inscription, one or two passages might very well occur in an honorary decree; but the greater part does not suit well with such an hypothesis. Professor Sayce conjectures "that certain individuals, fifteen years after a plague, have dedicated a statue to Apollo Pythios, who destroys noxious things, and that the community ratifies the deed, and settles the rites and ceremonies, processions, and the like, which have to be connected with the statue."

1. It is probable that the beginning of the inscription is intact, so that we must look for an invocation.  $\Delta\iota\epsilon\iota$  occurs as dative of Zeus, *C. I. G.*, Nos. 1869, 6832, and on the tomb of Midas the dative  $\Phi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota$  occurs; so perhaps we may read—

$\Sigma\upsilon\ \nu\ \Delta\iota\epsilon\iota\ \Lambda.$  or  $\Lambda,$  καὶ  $\text{H}\epsilon\iota\gamma\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ . With Zeus  $\Lambda$ , and the holy (gods).

$\Lambda$  may stand for  $\alpha\iota\gamma\iota\omicron\chi\omega$ ,  $\text{'}\Lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ , or some other epithet. Zeus was one of the chief gods of Sillyon; for on coins we sometimes find Zeus Aetophoros.

In our inscription the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$  is represented by **E** simply; but in the dative of the third declension the  $\epsilon\iota$  has a different character and origin from the ordinary Greek diphthong, and hence it appears here in a different spelling.  $\Delta\iota\text{F}\epsilon\iota$  is also a possible reading. On the loss of the nasal before  $\Delta$  it is sufficient to refer to Deecke, Siegismund, and Ahrens.

Friedländer suggests that **ΜΑΓΕ** may be the beginning of the name of Magydos, a city of Pamphylia; but as  $\text{Ζ}$  is elsewhere the symbol for gamma, probably we should read **ΜΑΓΕ...** It may possibly begin an accusative case of a proper name, and the rest of the line might be read

$\text{H}\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\ \Sigma\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\text{V}[\iota\gamma]a\ [\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}.$

2. **ΥΠΑΡ**, possibly the Attic  $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon\rho}$ . After it the copy in Büchh, *C. I. G.*, reads **ΚΑΙ· Α**, &c. Comparing this with

<sup>1</sup> Bezzenberger has **MATE** . . .

Hirschfeld's reading, we find the word *καί[σ]αριϒας* suggests itself, which would bring the inscription down to a very late date. Comparing the end of this line with line 21, we may read—

ἀπ' εὐπραξίας.

3. *ε...τυ* implies such a form as *εἶ[λε]το*. (Γρ. *ἐβολάσεν*. line 8. With *Ῥοικ...ις* compare *Ῥοικύπολις*, line 14. The rest of the line is—

καὶ Σελυῤιϒος Παχ...

4. . . . *απα κεκραμένος ἐξ ἐπιτεφιϒαῖς πόλι ναι* or *πόλι ἀ[μ]ων*. *κεκραμένος* from *κραίνω*, ratified or consummated, or perhaps for *κεχρημένος*. *ἐξ* with dative case is known in several Peloponnesian dialects. *αμιϒες* seems to occur, line 19, as nominative plural; here possibly the genitive occurs.

5. *διϒὰ πέ(ν)δε καὶ δέκα φέτ[ι]ϒ(α) ἀπὺ λιμης (?) σα . . .* A verb from *σαόω* occurs to our mind,—‘has preserved our city for fifteen years from pestilence.’ According to Curtius, *λύμη* and *λοιμός* are connected (though this connection is not favoured by Fick, and another is preferred in Vanizek); and here perhaps we have such a form in the gender of the one with the sense of the other. Or it is possible to take *λιμη* in the sense of *λύμη*. The *υ* had already acquired the sound that it has generally in modern Greek; and the word is spelt according to the sound. The double *a* is expressed only once, as Siegmund has shown to happen in the shorter Pamphylian inscriptions. The same rule holds sometimes in Lycian; see Schm. *N. L. St.* p. 9.

*διϒα* with the parasitic sound. In modern Smyrniote Greek *πέντε* is pronounced, as the people of Sillyon evidently pronounced it, with the *τ* made sonant and with a very faint sound of *υ*; and in some mouths the *υ* disappears completely. *φέτ[ι]ϒα*, no doubt *φέτεα* became *φετια*, as in severe Doric *ῥεός* becomes *ἐτιός*, though the general rule in Doric is that *ea* in this case is either left unchanged or contracted to *η* (Ahr. *Dial. Dor.* §§ 23 and 30): and then the parasitic sound was developed. *ἀπὺ* for *ἀπὸ*.

6. *ὅσα καὶ τιμάφεσα πόσα*. It seems probable that *ὅσα* and *πόσα* are correlative. *τιμάφεσα* seems third plural of the weak

monist. We should expect the other spirant  $\gamma$  from a verb whose stem was originally  $\tau\mu\alpha-\gamma a-$ ; but Ahrens has shown in various places (*e.g.* on Inscriptions from Olympia, in *Philol.* vol. xxxviii.) how  $\xi$  passes into  $\gamma$  and  $i$ , and the reverse change is quite as easy. We find in modern Greek  $\chi\rho\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha$  as first singular imperfect of  $\chi\rho\omega\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$  for  $\chi\rho\sigma\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , which shows to what changes the spirant in verbs in  $-a\omega$  was liable. Professor Sayce suggests that  $\tau\mu\alpha\phi\epsilon\varsigma$  is first person dual.

7. ἀ(ν)θρώποισι περτιρεν ἰ αῤῥταισι Ηέῤῥοταις. Original  $\epsilon\tau$  in this inscription is written  $\delta$ ; here for original  $\nu\theta$  we have  $\tau$ . As Siegismund (*l. c.*) and Kirchhoff both point out, this form is quite certain. ΠΕΡΤΙΡΕΝΙ perhaps  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\nu$ . It is in that case doubtful if the second **E** stands for  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ , or  $\epsilon\iota$  (Ahrens, § 37). The  $\eta$  was evidently pronounced as in modern Greek, and the word was spelt according to the sound.  $\pi\epsilon\rho$  for  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$  perhaps also in 26. ΗΕῤῥΟΤΑΙΣ for the Attic  $\epsilon\sigma\rho\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ : the genesis of this form is doubtful, just as it is hard to say whether  $\pi\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$  was formed from  $\pi\sigma\rho\tau\iota$  or from  $\pi\rho\sigma\tau\iota$ . Probably the latter is the case, and there has been no loss of quantity; then with the intermediate Ηέῤῥοτή we may compare  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$  of Hesychius. Similarly, in δάξα, the Epirote form for θάλασσα,  $\lambda$  or  $\rho$  has been lost. The root is  $\tau\rho\alpha\chi$  or  $\theta\rho\alpha\kappa$ , with the equivalent forms  $\tau\alpha\rho\chi$ ,  $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi$ ,  $\theta\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa$ , or with  $\lambda$  in place of  $\rho$ . Hence the noun  $\theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa-\iota\alpha$  and  $\delta\alpha\lambda\kappa-\iota\alpha$  or  $\delta\lambda\alpha\kappa-\iota\alpha$ . Here also it is impossible to say what was the exact form that preceded δάξα, whether δλάξα or δάλξα. Perhaps it might be better to take the form Ηέῤῥοταις. The rough breathing is inorganic, as in Ηιῤῥαροισι.

8. ἐβωλάσενυ ἀ(ν)δριῤῥῶνα καταστᾶσα[ι. (See note on l. 13.) δῆλομαι is the usual Doric form for βούλομαι (Alr. *Diis.* l. § 19, 9). ἀνδριῤῥῶνα apparently the Attic ἀνδριάντα.

9. ραιῤῥη καὶ μΗεῤῥαλῆτι καὶ ἐφ' Ηέῤῥοται[ς καὶ. I suspect that in the first letters is concealed a dative of a noun connected by καὶ with μΗεῤῥαλῆτι: translate 'for his . . . and magnificence both at the public festivals and . . .' μΗεῤῥαλῆτι and μΗεῤῥαλη, line 23, are evidently forms of μεγαλότης and μέγλη. Professor Sayce, who first observed this, also quoted the lengthening of a final short vowel in Homer before μέγα as illustrative of the initial μΗ. In fact, we have here a clear proof

of that rough pronunciation which, as Hartel (*Hom. Stud.*) contends, gives length to the syllable preceding. He maintains that this full and strong sound of  $\mu$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\rho$ , was older than Homer, and had so far disappeared in his time as to require the verse-arsis to help it to lengthen the preceding short. With  $\mu\text{ΗεΥαλητι}$  for  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\iota$ , cf. Latin *saluti* for *salutati*, derived from *salva*, Sanskrit *surca*, Greek  $\acute{o}\lambda\phi\omicron\varsigma$ . We have here another instance of the weakness of gamma in Pamphylian; just as in modern Greek it tends to pass into  $\gamma$ . [With  $\rho\alpha\iota\text{F}\text{H}\iota$  cf. Cypr.  $\rho\acute{o}\omega\nu$ , Lat. *rus*.]

10.  $\pi\alpha\varsigma \mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\tau\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \mu\text{ΗεΥα}[\lambda \dots ]\tau\upsilon\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \delta[\dots \text{Μανετ}\upsilon\varsigma$  is perhaps a proper name: it occurs on coins in the legends **MENETYΣΕΛΥΨΑ** and **ΕΛΥΨΑΜΕΝΕΤΥΣ**, where Kirchhoff (as quoted by Friedländer, *l. c.*) takes  $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\psi\alpha$  for  $\epsilon\gamma\lambda\upsilon\psi\alpha$ , and understands **MENETYΣ** as the name of the artist. In that case  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  cannot be the Greek adjective, 'all.' In the *Μουσείον* published by the Evangelical School in Smyrna (*περ.* *ς*. page 30) are two short inscriptions found together at Narlikeni. One contains the word  $\text{Μολέσεος}$ , the genitive of a well-known Lycian name. The other has the name  $\text{Ἀππας}$ .

11.  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon \epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\omicron [\dots] \delta\iota[\kappa]\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ . In the last word I give the form used by Kirchhoff.

12.  $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\iota \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota\varsigma \dots \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha \dots \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota$  occurs also lines 14, 17, and 23: see note on 23.

13. The last words evidently correspond to the Attic  $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{o} \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . Kirchhoff considers  $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\nu\upsilon\varsigma$  as the form here used. This would imply a present indicative corresponding to a supposed Attic form  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , future  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ ; cf. Lesb.  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\mu\iota$ , Att.  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ . Perhaps **ΕΔΥ** implies  $-\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron$ , in which case we might possibly have  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu \epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ , with  $\gamma$  in  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  becoming  $\iota$ , *i. e.*  $\gamma$ , as in **ΠΡΕΪΑΣ**, and **ΕΙΕ** =  $\epsilon\iota\gamma\eta$ . It is impossible to read **ΕΙΕ** directly as  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ , since the diphthong  $\epsilon\iota$  is in this alphabet given by the single symbol  $\epsilon$ ; but it is easy to understand  $\iota$  as the parasitic  $\gamma$  developed after  $\epsilon\iota$  before a vowel. [Bezenberger makes  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\delta\upsilon$  the first word in the line.]

14.  $[\kappa]\alpha\iota\nu\iota(\nu) \text{V}\omicron\iota\kappa\upsilon \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota(\nu) \text{F}\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega$ .  $\kappa\alpha\iota\nu\iota$ , see line 23. The

termination *-or* becomes *-v* also in *ίαρν*, lines 22, 31. The half obliterated symbol between *πολι* and *έχέτω* is like the relics of a **Σ**, but line 24 seems to require the *F* before *έχέτω*. At the same time, it must be remembered that the inscription is capricious in its spelling. In line 4 *πόλιν* occurs, though perhaps *ν* belongs to the following word, or the *ν* is retained before a vowel. Translate 'let him have a *καίνις*, a house, a state,' which seems to give a good sense. With the other reading *πόλις* must be the nominative to *έχέτω*, or else *Μοικύπολις* must be a compound and stand as the nominative. Kirchhoff understands at the end of the line *ὁ κα*, in which case it is not easy to see what can be made of *καν*; *και* is given in *C. I. G.* The *ο* in *ὁ* is supported by the analogy of **ΣΕΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ** and we have then, line 13, *ν*, the article with smooth breathing, and here *ὁ*, the neuter relative with rough. On *καίνις* see note 1, 23.

15. *ἀγλίσθω* = *ἀγρείσθω* = *αίρείσθω* with Kirchhoff seems a certain reading.

16. *δικαστήρες καὶ ἀργυρῶται μὴ ἐξάγων(ν)τι. ἀργυροται* or more probably *ἀργυρῶται* (so Kirchhoff), are possibly public officials like the *ἀργυροταμίαι* under the empire at Athens, &c. *C. I. G.* No. 334, &c.

17. *απειρωτας κα(τ)θανέτω καιν(ν) Μοικον πίλι(ν). κα(τ)-* *θανέτω*. Kirchhoff, and quite independently Professor Sayce; here and line 27. In this line and 27 possibly we have *ἡπειρωτας*.

18. *δικαστήρες δὲ καὶ ἀργυρῶται ἀνείαν* ε[. . . . *ἀνείαν* third plural analogic aorist of *ἀνίημι*.

19. *δι[κ]αστήρες* at the end is clear; but several other Greek forms are certainly hidden in the earlier part, which some happier wit may discover. *ἐξ δεφυσελαγω* may be preposition and noun. *αμυες* probably *ἡμεῖς*, in which the rough breathing is not original. **ΟΔΥ** perhaps *-οντο*.

20. Kirchhoff corrects **Λ** to **Δ**, and understands *γέωνται*. At the end of the lines come the words of line 16, *μὴ ἐξάγωντι*. Hence **HAIBE** must be one word, though *αἰρεῖ* seems unsuitable here and inconsistent with the form in line 15.

21. -ο(ν)το ἅμα τηρέει μΗε . . . δ' ἀπ' εὐπρα[ξίας]. ἅμα τηρέει Professor Sayce suggests; five letters, or perhaps four, are lost.

22. . . .]ες περὶ γέρας ΗιΥαρὺ γε[γέν]ηται κανι θεα. περὶ, though perhaps περ in line 26. ΗιΥαρὺ for ἱερόν. κανι, possibly a preposition; perhaps καν in 14 is connected.

23. καὶ μΗεΥάλη καινις ἅμα δῆμος, ἅμα. ΔΙΜΟΣ, δῆμος, seems a certain explanation, given by Professor Sayce. We may perhaps understand, 'let a great καινις, both people and . . . , be held': about twelve letters are lost at the end, which might contain the lost noun followed by ἔστω. In Hesychius Prof. Sayce discovered the forms καίνιτας, ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφάς, and καίνιτα. ἀδελφή. No doubt καίνις is akin. Now just as φράτορες, which must originally have meant brothers, came to denote the members of a (political or) religious brotherhood, and gave rise to φρατρία as the name of that brotherhood, so perhaps it may have happened to κάσις. The rough breathing καίνιτας implies a lost letter, probably sigma. We might suppose καίνις to be some sort of religious assembly, the members of which were called κάσις; and from καίνις again may have come καίνιτης.

24-5. πόλις ἄγεθλα ξεχέτω καὶ ἀπι[ρω]τας βόφα  
καὶ . . . τῷ Ἀπ[έλ]ωνι καὶ οροφυ καὶ.

ἄγεθλα is clearly ἄθεθλα from root *adth*, with *F* becoming *γ*; see Curtius, *Gr.*, and compare modern Greek ἄγουρος, unripe, *i.e.* ἄψωρος. We may understand ἄεθλα in the sense of ἀέθλους, games. βόφα perhaps for Attic βούνη. οροϝ is an accusative of the second declension; cf. ΗΙΙΑΡΥ, lines 22, 31.

26. Professor Sayce suggests ὀχεῖσθαι: περὶ ἀν[τὰ??].

27. FEξ. Professor Sayce and Kirchhoff both understand ἐξ, but καθθανέτω or κατθανέτω, which they also suggest, leaves an *E* unexplained between the two words. *E+EI*, Professor Sayce ἔχη.

29. πόλις ωμοσ??

30. καὶ Ἀπέλωρα ἰύτ[ιον] . . . αι ὑπέρ. Kirchhoff takes the form Ἀπέλλωρα but it is hardly justifiable to double the

consonant, as Ahrens (*Cypr.*) has proved in regard to the Cyprian form of this name, which he takes as Ἀπλωνι in the dative, comparing Ἀπλουν, the Thessalian form. ὑπέρ? ὑπάρ, in line 2?

31. γέρα]ς ΗιΥαρὺ αι[. . .

32. φεροΛ οιμε[ν looks like an optative form.

34. κατέχω(ν)τι, Kirchhoff. [κατήχοντο. Bezenberger.]

W. M. RAMSAY.

NOTE.—Since the above was in type an article by Dr. A. Bezenberger entitled *Zur Beurteilung des pamphyliischen Dialekts*, has appeared on the same subject, in Bezenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, v. 4 (1889). Bezenberger, however, adds little to our knowledge of the inscription: the phonetic value of Λ is unknown to him as well as the meaning of ΜΗΕΙΑΛΗ, and he misreads the title of Artemis on the coins of Perga ΜΑΝΑΨΑΣ. But the following suggestions of his are worthy of attention. In line 10 he proposes to read [αὐ]τὸς καὶ δ(ἄ)μος). I believe ΜΑΝΕΤΥΣ to signify 'priest,' and adopting Bezenberger's proposal would therefore render the whole line: 'every priest, and the nobility itself and people.' In line 11 he reads ΘΕΦΕΙπολι, and with the compound ΛΟΙΚΥΠΟΛΙΣ compares ἱεραπόλος in the Akarnanian inscriptions (Cauer, *Delectus*, Nos. 98, 99). In line 12 the word δικαστήρας in the Lokrian inscription of Naupaktos (*Rhein. Mus.* 26, 39) seems to settle the doubtful vowel of the corresponding word in the inscription of Sillyon. Bezenberger explains ἄγεθλα as 'instruments for the sacrifice,' comparing θύσθλα and the glosses ἄγον and ἀγός in Hesychios. He further compares ὄροφυ (line 25) with ὄροῦα· χορδή (in Hesych.) and the Umbrian *arcia* and Latin *ara-sper*, though he allows that ὄρος is also possible. In line 27 he suggests ἴς (=ἐς) ἑξ ἐκάθειαν, comparing ἄρειαν in line 18, which is certainly a third person plural like the Boeotian ἀρέθειαν, παρείαν (Führer: *De Dialecto Boeotico*, p. 12). We may further compare the Kyprian κατέθειαν, as well as ἀνέθειαν (*Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. 580) and the vowel of ἔχευα and εἴπα. There is little probability in Bezenberger's proposal to read ἄματι, akin to Skt. *amā*,

English *summer*, in line 21, and his rule that *o* does not become *u* when no nasal follows is rendered doubtful by the variable character of the writing to which Mr. Ramsay has drawn attention.

To turn to palaeography, I was led to give the value of  $\sigma\sigma$  to the Karian  $\Psi$ , also written  $\Upsilon$ , from its identity with the Kypriote  $\Psi$  or  $\Upsilon$  on the one side, and the Kilikian  $\Psi$  (final *s*) on the other. I do not think that the Pamphylian  $\mathbf{\Psi}$  can be compared with the Kypriote  $\Psi$ , since the latter character is a late simplification of  $\Psi$  (or  $\Psi$  and has the value of *ca*. On the other hand, if we examine the different forms of the Kypriote characters for *ki* and *ku*, we shall see that an early form of the character for *u* (or rather *vu*) was  $\mathbf{\Psi}$ . I may add that I shall in future speak of the Asianic, rather than of the Kypriote, syllabary, since, as I have shown in an Appendix to Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, the Kypriote syllabary was really a branch of one once used throughout Asia Minor.

$\text{Βολήμενυς}$  in line 13 is an interesting form, similar to the Arcadian  $\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , Elean  $\kappa\alpha\delta\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , Lesbian  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , Boeotian  $\alpha\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , and Delphian  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ . Compare, too,  $\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , *Od.* 4, 807.

The resemblances between the dialect of Sillyon and that of Kypros (such as the change of final *-o* into *-u*, the loss of the nasal before a dental, the use of  $\gamma\omega\iota$  and  $\delta\iota\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ , and the employment of  $\epsilon\chi$  with the dative) have a bearing upon the language of Homer. The Homeric  $\alpha\delta\rho\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\eta\delta\rho\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$  (*Il.* 16, 857, xxii. 363), has already been conjectured to be a Cyprism, and we may now couple with it the lengthening of a final short vowel before  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$  and its compounds, noticed above by Mr. Ramsay. At any rate, the other resemblances between the Kyprian and Pamphylian dialects make it not improbable that the same rough pronunciation of the first syllable of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$  characterised the dialect of Kypros as characterised the dialect of Sillyon.

It will be useful to add here the Pamphylian glosses found in Hesykhios and elsewhere, which have been collected by Bezzenberger:—

$\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ·  $\eta\lambda\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ . Παμφύλιοι (Hesykh.).

$\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\omega}\beta\alpha\varsigma$ ·  $\acute{\omicron}$  Ἀδωνις ὑπὸ Περγαίων (*Etyim. Mag.* 4, 53, made a Persian word by Hesykh.).

ἄγον· ἐν Πέρῃ τὴν ἱέρειαν οὕτως καλοῦσιν (H.).

ἀγὼς· . . . ἐν Πέρῃ ἱέρεια Ἀρτέμιδος (H.).

ἀγρακόμας· ἔρνις τις ὑπὸ Παμφυλίων (H.).

ἀδρί· ἀνδρί. Παμφύλιοι (H.).

Ἀῆδων· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Παμφυλίοις (H.).

αἰβετος· αἰετός. Περγαῖοι (H., *Et. M.* 28, 7).

ἁμείναςις· ἡδύοσμον ὑπὸ Περγαίων (*Et. M.* 82, 50).

ἄρκυμα· ἄκρις ὑπὸ Περγαίων (H.).

βουρικυπάρισσος· ἡ ἄμπελος. Περγαῖοι (H.).

ζειγαρά· ὁ τέττιξ παρὰ Σιδήταις (H.).

ἰκτίς· ὁ ἰκτίνος. Περγαῖοι (H.).

κασύας· ἔρκυνος. Περγαῖοι (H.).

κορκόρας· ὄρνις. Περγαῖοι (H.).

λάφνη· δάφνη. Περγαῖοι (H.).

λάψα· γογγυλὶς. Περγαῖοι (H.).

πηρία· Ἀ(σ)πένδιοι τὴν χώραν τοῦ ἀγροῦ (H.).

σαραπίους· τὰς μαινίδας (! μαινάδας). Περγαῖοι (H.).

σισίλαρος· πέρδιξ. Περγαῖοι (H.).

τριμίσκον· ἱμάτιον. Ἀσπένδιοι (H.).

ῥλογος· στρατός. Περγαῖοι (H.) ὁ = ὁ (see); though cf. the Salaminian ὕγγεμος· συλλαβ' (H.).

φεννίον· μηδικὴ ὁδός. Παμφύλιοι (H.). Does this denote the great highway from Sardes to the Bay of Antioch?

Ἐν δὲ ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ λέγει ὁ αὐτὸς Ἡρακλείδης τοὺς Παμφυλίους ἄλλως χαίρειν τῷ β, προτιθέντας αὐτὸ παντὸς φωνήεντος. τὸ γοῦν φᾶος φάβος φασι· καὶ τὸ ἀέλιος βαβέλιος· οὕτω δὲ φησι καὶ τὸ ὀρούω ὀρούβω λέγουσι. καὶ περισπωμένως δὲ ὀρουβῶ (*Eustath. ad Hom.* 1654, 20).

Ἔθος δὲ ἔχουσι Λωριέων τινές· ὥς γὰρ (οἱ) Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Λάκωνες καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Ἐρετριεῖς καὶ Ὠρώπιοι, ἐνδεῖαν τοῦ σ ποιοῦντες, ἐασεῖαν χαράττουσι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις φωνήεσιν, ὥς ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι ποιῆ'αι καὶ Βουσῶα Βου'ῶα καὶ μουσικὰ μω'ικὰ (*Elem. Mag.* 391, 12). Compare καίης quoted by Mr. Ramsay.

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## ON SOME IONIC ELEMENTS IN ATTIC TRAGEDY.

AMONG the happy circumstances which in the fifth century B.C. favoured the development of Hellenic art must be reckoned as an important element the peculiar distinctions and relations of the Hellenic dialects. These relations were such as it would probably be difficult to parallel. The several idioms, most of them separately cultivated up to the standard of literature, differed from each other sufficiently to make their broad characters readily perceptible, and yet resembled each other sufficiently to be mutually intelligible. Each of the great branches of the cousinhood had its own characteristic product, and the total of these was the common inheritance of the nation. The language thus resembled an organ with several sets of stops; poetry was at once provincial and classic; and the literature enjoyed by a felicitous balance the conflicting advantages of fixed and fluctuating speech. That the great artists of Athens perceived their own strength is in a general way sufficiently obvious. The distinction between the Doric chorus and the Attic dialogue is alone a proof of the fact. But it seems not unlikely that closer examination may reveal to us more subtle applications of the same method, and that, besides the keener perception which we may thus gain of the tone and feeling of particular passages, we may even be able to employ our knowledge of such laws as an instrument of criticism and interpretation. This paper is an attempt to represent under this aspect the facts respecting the use by the three tragedians of the substantives and adjectives in *-οοῦρος* and *-οοῦρη*.<sup>1</sup>

As it happens that some of the words so formed are among the most wide-spread and familiar in the Greek language, we

<sup>1</sup> For a very full list of these forms see Lobeck, *Pathologia*, Diss. IV. cap. 6.

perhaps hardly realise the extremely limited and special range which belongs to them as a class. As free elements of composition ready to combine with a fresh stem at the pleasure of the writer, these terminations can hardly be said to exist out of the dactylic verse of the rhapsodists and the gnomic writers who borrowed their instruments. There we find them in profusion, not only *σωφροσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη*, and such trite terms, but *ὑποθημοσύνη*, *κερδοσύνη*, *κλοπτοσύνη*, *ζηλοσύνη*, *γηθόσυις*, even *θεμιστοσύνη*, with many more. In fact the class appears in the dactylic poets as a perfectly normal formation, limited, we must suppose, only in the number of words actually current, and not in the possibility of further production. But to these conditions the Greek language generally, and in particular the idiom of Attic prose, presents a sharp contrast. Not only is the character of the class narrowly defined, but its productiveness is altogether extinct.

If we may take Thucydides—and where else are we to look?—as representing the prose Attic vocabulary of the middle and latter part of the fifth century, we find that with the exception of *μνημίσυνον*, a *monument* (v. 11), the few terms of the kind which he employs are all *ethical*, *σωφροσύνη*, *ἀπραγμοσύνη*, *ἀνεπιστημοσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀφροσύνη*, and possibly one or two which I have overlooked. Now it is obvious that the mere existence of these words in the literary Attic of Thucydides' time is no proof that the suffix *-οσύνη* was native to Athens or familiar to her streets. Ethical abstract terms of this sort are only required after a certain progress in thought and style, and as a matter of fact the first ethical writers in Greece were the gnomic poets, in whom these forms are actually found in great frequency. How and whence they came there has been already hinted.

But much more significant than the frugality of Thucydides in this species is the caution and reluctance, so to speak, with which he employs it at all: *σωφροσύνη* and *ἀπραγμοσύνη* occur with moderate frequency, but *δικαιοσύνη* is more than once avoided by the periphrasis *τὸ δίκαιον*, and allowed only in iii., 64, *τὰς ὁμοίας χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι αἰσχροὺς μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὠφελθείσας ἐς ἀδικίαν δὲ ἀποδιδόμενας*, where it is plain that the substantive is necessary to the antithesis; *ἀνεπιστημοσύνη* in like manner is forced upon him

(v. 7) by the need of a euphonious counterpoise to ἐμπειρία, and ἀφροσύνη (i. 122) is introduced with an explanation very like an apology to the effect that it is the proper word to express the exact negative idea which the speaker desires to denote—ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάβασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς σφάλλειν τὸ ἐνάντιον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται. In the later Attic writers we have a larger list, but apparently of the same quality. As we are concerned only with the fifth century, it is unnecessary to descend further. Now this contrast between the language of the rhapsodists and that of Attic prose cannot be wholly explained—if it be an explanation—by classing the forms in question as poetical, for Pindar is quite as scanty as Thucydides. εὐφροσύνα, *good cheer*, is in some vogue with him, but if we add to that a few single examples, μνημοσύνα (*Ol.* viii. 74), δεσπόσυνος (*Pyth.* iv. 267), φιλοφρόσυναι (*Ol.* vi. 96), we shall be near the full amount. Further, the practice of the rhapsodists in respect of this termination is more liberal than that of Attic prose or of other literature generally, not only in the sense, but in the etymological form of the words for which it is permitted. With the remarkable and perhaps unique exception of δικαιοσύνη, every extant Attic word of this type is based upon a recognised stem in -ον-, σωφρον- σωφροσύνη, ἀπραγμον- ἀπραγμοσύνη, and so forth. Even δεσπόσυνος (if this really was in the fifth century counted an Attic word at all) is scarcely beyond the rule, for δέσποινα has the appearance of a feminine from a stem in ν (δεσπον-γα), though as a matter of fact it appears that this ν was part of a suffix, δεσποτ-νια (*Curtius*). But 'Epic' use ignores the rule altogether; κερδον- (κέρδων *Lat. cerdo*) no doubt existed, but δουλοσύνη, κλεπτοσύνη, ἵπποσύνη, τοξοσύνη, θεμιστοσύνη, and others, amply prove that in the Epos such a form as δικαιοσύνη would exhibit no peculiarity. We may add that the cognate adjective in -όσυνος seems scarcely to have gained any footing in common Attic at all.<sup>1</sup> If now we ask the cause of this difference between the literary language of different schools, the explanation suggests itself that it is due to the Ionian or Asiatic origin of Epic poetry, and that the forms in -όσυνος, -οσύνη were in their

<sup>1</sup> Compare Lobeck, *l. c.*

free development a characteristic mark of the Greek spoken in Asia, which passed thence into other idioms, and ultimately into the common language of the Hellenic world, under conditions determined by the historical descent of the various species of literature and branches of knowledge. The History of the Asiatic Herodotus, though composed for general audiences at a time when intercourse must have been tending to obliterate local peculiarities in cultivated persons, nevertheless does exhibit, together with its many other Ionic peculiarities, a treatment of *-οσύνη* quite different from the Attic as represented in Thucydides. Herodotus has no scruple about *δικαιοσύνη*, he uses *δουλοσύνη* readily, and upon occasion *δεσποσύνη* (*arbitrary power*), and he even slips into the provincialism, as we might call it, of iii. 27. *πάνχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἐώντοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιεῖν*. In this state of the question it becomes a matter of considerable interest to examine the examples offered by the Attic Tragedians, who employ such words, not indeed very frequently, but certainly without respect to the Attic rule as we should gather it from other evidence. If we are right in conjecturing that, during the period in which the great tragedians wrote, the termination *-οσύνη* stood in the prose and colloquial speech of Athens upon a narrow if not precarious footing, while in the large mass of popular poetry, the tale of the bard and the proverb of the moralist, the same termination was prevalent and characteristic—then it is impossible to suppose that Aeschylus and his successors can have introduced such forms into the midst of their works without regard to the association which they would carry to the ears of the audience, any more than a poet of our own day could suddenly and without reason introduce a fragment in the idiom of Burns, or make the archaisms of the Elizabethan age fit unobserved into a composition essentially modern, or use the familiar phraseology of the Bible or the Prayer-book exactly as if it had never been heard before. Such associations may of course be utilised with the most admirable effect, indeed to have power over them is the very perfection of linguistic art; but they cannot with impunity be ignored. The practice of the tragedians then will give us a crucial test for the correctness of our hypothesis, and at the same time if a large number of examples should prove to be

consistent with the hypothesis, we shall understand them better by their mutual aid, and also obtain the means of discrimination in others of more difficulty.

But before entering upon this examination I wish to limit precisely the conclusion to which it is intended to lead. With the vexed questions relating to the history of the Ionic and old Attic dialects we have not any immediate concern. It would be nothing or very little to my present purpose if there was once a time when the speech of Athens was indistinguishable from the speech of Miletus, and if at that time words in *-οσυνη* were equally familiar at both places. We are to look neither forward nor backward from the fifth century, the age of tragedy. In tragedy, as will appear, these words are used in such circumstances only as point to language and literature of Asiatic growth or descent. The instances are far too numerous and diverse to be attributed to accident, and the fact of peculiarity remains equally true and important, whether it be the peculiarity of archaism or of modernism. Indeed both explanations might be true at once. Some words might be survivals from an older Attic, others recent or contemporary importations from the living Ionic. However, I dismiss this extraneous discussion and come to our proper field.

We will begin upon a knot quite sufficiently tough to try the edge of our instrument—

μηδὰμ' ὁ πάντα νέμων  
 θεῖτ' ἐμᾷ γνώμα κράτος ἀντίπαλον Ζεὺς,  
 μηδ' ἐλινύσαιμι θεοὺς ὀσίαις θοίλαις ποτινισσομένα  
 βουφόνοις, παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ πατρὸς ἄσβεστον πόρον,  
 533 μηδ' ἀλίτοιμι λόγοις.  
 ἀλλὰ μοι τόδ' ἐμμένοι  
 καὶ μήποτ' ἐκτακίη  
 ἡδύ τι θαρσαλέαις  
 τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον ἐλπίσι, φαναῖς  
 θυμὸν ἀλδαίουσαν ἐν εὐφροσύναις. (Aesch. P. V. 529).

The lines of the antistrophe answering to 533-5 are these :

Ζῆνα γὰρ οὐ τρομέων  
 543 ἰδίᾳ γνώμα σέβει  
 θνάτους ἄγαν, Προμηθεῦ.

The metrical discrepancy between 534 and 543 has been much discussed; *τοῦτ'* for *τίδ* may be easily accepted, but with deference to the opinion of Hermann, who wrote *μάλα*, I will venture to insist that *ἀλλά* is right and necessary, and so is Dindorf's punctuation (as above), according to which *τοῦτο* refers to the words *ἡδύ τι, κ.τ.λ.* The commencement of the sentence *μάλα μοι* without a conjunction is highly objectionable, and the proposed use of *μάλα* different, as the index will show, from the use of Aeschylus. Moreover when it is prayed that *this* may not be *erased* from the wax tablet of mind—for that is the metaphor implied in *ἐκτακείη*—‘this’ must be some maxim or sentence which might naturally be inscribed there. We do not pray that we may remember our own prayers. Such a sentence we have in what follows, *Surely it is sweet to increase the lengthening life with hope assured, satisfying the soul in festal cheer*—a prudent reflection upon the advantages of contented comfort and the danger of risking your peace for a forbidden ideal. It is so far then encouraging for our search that these lines containing the word *εὐφροσύναι* are not so disposed in the context but that we may *rationaly* suppose them quoted or adapted from some other place. It remains to see whether they offer any positive evidence that they are. Now their vocabulary is highly peculiar; *θαρσαλέος* seems to be used this once only in the whole of extant tragedy, and that although it is fairly common in Attic prose, early and late; it occurs also in Homer; *φανός* again is found in Aristophanes, Plato, Xenophon, but not in Sophokles, not in Euripides, and in Aeschylus only this once; *ἀλδαιίνειν* and (we may add without assuming the point we are to prove) *εὐφροσύναι* descend at least from the Epos, where *θυμὸς εὐφροσύνησιν λαίνεται* actually occurs (L. and Sc., *s. v.* *εὐφροσύνη*). Taking all this together, the reader will, I think, agree that such an aggregation of curiosities can hardly be fortuitous, and that Aeschylus in these lines must have had a precedent in some other poet, presumably not an Attic dramatist, and must have followed him somewhat closely. As a matter of fact he followed him word for word, for the maxim as it stands is an elegiac *γνώμη* scarcely modified,

*ἡδύ τι θαρσαλέαις μακρὸν βίον ἔλπισι τείνειν  
φαναῖς τ' ἀλδαιίνειν θυμὸν ἐν εὐφροσύναις.*

(It appears that we are hardly justified in altering the  $\eta$  of ἡδύ—so the *Med.*—into  $\alpha$ ; if we are to alter at all, we had better replace the  $\eta$  in *θαρσαλέαις φαναῖς* and *εὐφροσύναις*.) To the *μουσικοί* in the theatre this reminiscence would probably give half its charm to the passage, just as a fine line in Tennyson or Milton is a thousand times finer when we can hear in it the echo of the prophets or the psalms.

I ought not perhaps to pass on without offering my word upon *ιδία* in 543, which is of course more suspicious in proportion as the reasons for retaining *ἀλλά* in 534 have become stronger. Various suggestions have been made, *αὐτόνω*, *οἰόφρων*, *αὐτόβουλος ὦν* (Paley, *ad loc.*), and probably others. The objection to them is the difficulty of accounting for the MS. text; until this is done nothing is done. The correctors assume a gloss, but *αὐτόνους* and *αὐτόβουλος* would scarcely challenge explanation, while *οἰόφρων* would challenge it,—and defy it. We must try for something more scientific. The permutation of  $\Delta$  and  $\Lambda$  is proved from so many cases in the MSS. of Aeschylus, that it has a strong advantage over almost any other assumption. Will it do anything for us here? *ιλία* does not look hopeful, but we must remember that words have affinities of sound as well as of shape, and that such affinities have exercised a powerful influence upon copyists, as we may see from the confusion of  $\kappa$  and  $\chi$ . Now if we pronounce the syllables *ιδια* and *ηδεα* in the ‘itacizing’ fashion of later Greek, we can hardly distinguish them. If then the uncial copy from which the Cod. Mediceus is descended had **ΗΛΕΑΙ** and this was by mistake read **ΗΔΕΑΙ**, we may safely affirm that the next scribe, particularly if he wrote from dictation, would be far more likely to wander on into *ιδία* than to return to the unfamiliar and probably unintelligible *ηλεᾶ*. That Aeschylus did use this Homeric word for *vain* or *foolish* we know from Hesychius, *ἀλεός ὁ παλαιός* (leg. *οὐκ ἀλαιός*?) *ἄφρων*, *Αἰσχύλος* (L. and Sc. s. v.); and though we ought probably to write *ἀλεᾶ*, our MS. exhibits  $\eta$  for the Doric  $\alpha$  with such frequency, not to say regularity, in all positions not final, that this difference does not affect the question. It is a confirmation of this correction that upon the analogy of it we can put right a perfectly senseless *ιδίας* in Eur. *Ion* 101. The Delphian ministers of Phoebus are bidden upon the day of his festival—

φήμας ἀγαθὰς τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν  
μαντεύεσθαι  
γλώσσης ἰδίας ἀποφαίνειν.

With whose tongue but *their own* should they utter words good or bad? For **ΙΔΙΑC** write **ΙΛΕΑC**, genitive feminine from ἰλεως, as πλέας from πλέως, and scanned, like ἰλεως itself, as a spondee. From a *propitious* tongue good words come naturally enough.

To proceed: the case of *Persæ*, 584 foll. scarcely needs more than mention—

τοὶ δ' ἀνὰ γῆν Ἀσιηνὴν  
οὐκ ἔτι περσονομοῦνται,  
οὐκ ἔτι δασμοφοροῦσιν  
δεσποσύνοισιν ἀνάγκαις,  
οὐδ' ἐς γῆν προπίτνοντες  
ἄζονται. (Halm for MS. ἀρξονται).

The Persian councillors are lamenting the downfall of their empire, which, as they forbode, must quickly follow the defeat of Salamis. *Throughout the land of Asia the people suffer no more the Persian rule, nor pay tribute by masterful compulsion, nor worship with bowings down to the ground.* The 'Oriental' tone of the chorus from which this quotation comes has been often noticed, but the quotation is pure Asiatic. To Ionic belong the pronoun τοί, and the η of the terminations γῆν and Ἀσιηνήν. The MS. gives Ἀσίαν δῆν, but it is extremely probable from the rhythm alone that Meineke was right in restoring the adjective Ἀσιηνός; the MS. reading is accounted for if we suppose the Ionic form **ACIHNHN** to be the original. A corrector, hastily condemning this form in a Doric chorus, wrote **A** over the line; the cursive scribe reading this **A** as so often for a **Δ**, put it into the line, and Doricizing as usual γῆν and Ἀσίην made what we now have. I have already suggested (*Journal of Philology*, ix. 147) that in the Cod. Med. the final η when it occurs in a Doric chorus ought to be regarded as a fact requiring explanation. I shall presently show that the irregular use of these Ionic forms for special effect was known to Attic drama. δασμός and δασμοφορεῖν we know that the Ionians used in reference to their Persian governors, and we may

presume the same of *περσονομείσθαι* ; ἄζεσθαι again, which, if *δασμοφοροῦνται* and *περσονομείσθαι* are present tenses, seems a certain correction of the MS. ἄρξονται, is from the Ionic vocabulary. It is needless to observe how much this Persian lament, or rather Hellenic paeon, for the deliverance of Ionian Hellas is enhanced by the significant transition to the phrases of the enslaved. Here then we may almost say that the presence of *δεσπόσυνος* would be strange if it were *not* a term borrowed from Ionic literature, and recognisable as such. But indeed if we could be sure that our 'Tyrtaeus' is genuine we might make short work, for the lines of Aeschylus are either the copy or the model of Tyrt. fragm. 4 (Bergk)—

ὥσπερ ὄνοι μεγάλοις ἄχθεσι τειρόμενοι  
δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς  
ἥμισυ πᾶν ὅσσον καρπὸν ἄρουρά φέρει—

which, like most dactylic poetry, Athenian or Lacedaemonian, is palpably Ionic. Even if the resemblance of the two passages is accidental, we can see that 'Tyrtaeus' and Aeschylus drew from the same stock. Following the dramatist, I should myself read in the elegy—

δεσποσύνοισι φέροντες ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς,

*under pitiable compulsion of their lords.* In the other text, *δεσπόσυνος* is taken to be a substantive, a use much more than doubtful. The cognate *δεσποσύνη* appears, as has been already mentioned, in Herodotus (vii. 102), ὀρετὴ τῇ διαχρεωμένῃ ἢ Ἑλλάς τὴν τε πενίην ἀπαμύνεται καὶ τὴν δεσποσύνην. The adjective itself is attributed to no prose writer except Xenophon, in this as in other matters a very uncertain 'Atticitatis auctor,' especially for the earlier half of the fifth century. Euripides puts both *δεσπόσυνος* and the correlative *δουλόσυνος* into the mouth of the Asiatic captive women who form the chorus of the *Hecuba*; they introduce themselves with their native 'Epic'—

Ἑκάβη, σπουδῇ πρὸς σ' ἐλιάσθην,  
τὰς δεσποσύνους σκηναὶς προλιποῦσ',  
ἴν' ἐκληρώθην...  
δούλη. (100 foll.)

they recur to it in their self-lamentations—

τῷ δουλόσυνος πρὸς οἴκων  
κτηθείς' ἀφίξομαι ; (††8).

and it is their last utterance before leaving the stage—

ἔτε πρὸς λιμένας σκηνάς τε, φίλαι,  
τῶν δεσποσύνων πειρασόμεναι  
μόχθων, στερρὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη.

We know whence Euripides took *λιάζομαι*, and may safely suppose that he took *δεσπόσυνος* also from the same vocabulary and with the same purpose, namely, to give the speech of his Asiatic women what we should call a little local colour. That *δεσπόσυνος σκηναί* was for some reason a remarkable phrase to Athenian ears we may be sure from the parody upon it by the slave of Agathon, with which Aristophanes commences his most elaborate attack upon the Euripidean school of poetry—

εὐφημος πᾶς ἔστω λαὸς  
στόμα συγκλήσας' ἐπιδημεῖ γὰρ  
θίασος Μουσῶν ἔνδον μελᾶθρων  
τῶν δεσποσύνων μελοποιῶν (*Thesm.* 39).

Now with all this in our minds we shall perhaps be a little astonished when on turning to *Choeph.* 942, the triumph-song of the banditti over the deaths of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, in a passage free from suspicion of Ionism we read as follows—

ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ δεσποσύνων δόμων  
ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς  
ὑπαὶ δυοῖν μιστόροις  
δυσοίμου τύχας.

Pindar, who so often illustrates Aeschylus, no doubt has *ἐν ὀρθαῖς κίνεσσι δεσποσύναις* (or *δεσποσύνοις*?), where no Epic or other such influence is visible. But then we have no evidence that Pindar shared the feelings which we find characteristic of the Attic poets. His words in *-οσύνη* are rare, even very rare, but not used with consciousness of their origin. How Aeschylus handled *δεσπόσυνος* we have just seen. But what can we say then of *δεσποσύνων δόμων*? We can say that

whatever may be the likelihood of such a phrase in Aeschylus, it is perfectly natural in the four lines above quoted. In spite of a certain clumsiness in their grammatical structure they are fine lines and a worthy pendant to the rest of the song. But they are only a pendant, and not an integral part of it. I have recently argued (*Journal of Philology*, ix. 114) from the contents and metrical structure of this ode that it contained, besides two strophes and two antistrophes, a 'burden,' which was sung after each 'verse,' though written only after the first, and which is in fact this very quatrain, ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ...τύχας. The song therefore is complete without it, and the notion that it was added by a later though fairly competent hand for musical or theatrical reasons is not in itself inadmissible. Let us examine the internal evidence. It is not perhaps much that we find a seemingly solitary instance of τριβή (instead of τρίζος) in the sense of *material* waste as distinguished from the spending of *time, attention, &c.* When we consider the large range of authors, including Aeschylus, who establish the contrary rule, we are justified in noticing it as a peculiarity. But as it would not be less peculiar in a writer of 400 B.C. than in one of 450 B.C., it does not go far towards our point. But ἀναφυγή is doubly and trebly suspicious. Neither ἀναφεύγω nor any of its kindred are cited from any other Attic author, nor from any classical author at all, except Xenophon. And this is the smallest part of the objection. The force of ἀνά in the compound is somewhat obscure, but must apparently be that of the prefix *re-*. Now Aeschylus among several compounds with this preposition has scarcely one of this force. Accident, it may be said. Yet Sophokles has six at least, ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἀναμιμνήσκειν, ἀναπνέειν, ἀναστρέφειν, ἀναστροφή, ἀνατίθημι. But there is much more yet. The compounds of φυγή were at no time common; the introduction into Attic literature of the few which obtained vogue *can be traced, and it commenced long after the date of the Choephoroe.* In the fourth century we have καταφυγή, ἀποφυγή, and διαφυγή (Plato); for ὑποφυγή and περιφυγή we must descend to Josephus and Plutarch. Of these words καταφυγή only can be traced near to the period of Aeschylus. We find it in Herodotus, but among Attic writers not until Euripides who has it several times, in prose first in Antiphon and then in Plato and Aristotle

(once only, for in *Ell. Nic.* vii. 1, ἐν πενία καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς δυστυχίαις—

μόνην οἶονται καταφυγὴν εἶναι [τοὺς] φίλους—

we have a citation or adaptation from the New Comedy : compare the quotation

σύν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένω,

immediately below it). Of ἐκφυγή, προφυγή, and other convenient forms there is no trace. To this negative and presumptive evidence we may add a positive proof of a very curious kind. The first seven books of Thucydides are apparently free from any such compound—this is what we should expect—and so is the eighth book, *with the exception of a parenthetic clause in Chapter cii.* ταῦς μὲν ὀλίγας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (σπευδὲς γὰρ ὦν ὁ Ἑλλησποντος βραχείας τὰς ἀποφυγὰς τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρέϊχε) τὴν μέντοι νίκην ταύτην τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐπικαιροτάτην δὴ ἔσχον, a sentence, observe, separable from the context, and found among the last words which Thucydides wrote *where we have every reason to look for the hand of his editor Xenophon.* In short, ἀναφυγή is a word which from all indication no writer would have been likely to use before the close of the fifth century, and which no careful writer would have used at all. In a chorus of the *Choephores* it is somewhat startling.

Either then this burden of four lines was inserted as I have suggested, or Aeschylus, for some reason which I do not at present perceive, filled it with peculiarities of phraseology. The choice between these alternatives is for our present purpose indifferent.

Passing to the *Prometheus*, 1054 foll., we strike into an entirely new vein—

τοιάδε μέντοι τῶν φρενοπλήκτων  
 βουλεύματ' ἔπη τ' ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι.  
 τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει μὴ παραπαίειν  
 ἢ τοῦδε τύχη; τί χαλᾷ μανίων;  
 ἀλλ' οὖν ὑμεῖς γ' αἱ πημοσύναις  
 ξυγκάμνουσαι ταῖς τοῦδε τόπων  
 μετὰ ποι χωρεῖτ' ἐκ τῶνδε θοῶς,  
 μὴ φρένας ὑμῶν ἡλιθιώση  
 βροντῆς μέκημ' ἀτέραμνον.

Now it was by no means through the Epos only, and by the mouth of the rhapsodists, that Hellas in Asia gave lessons to Hellas in Europe. Two important sciences, two beneficent and civilizing arts, had in Ionia, if not their earliest origin, at least their chief existing centre at the date of Attic tragedy—the arts or sciences of medicine and music. It is needless to prove or dwell upon so notorious a fact. The literary monuments of the Ionic *φυσική* remain in part to this day; and though their music has unhappily become an almost insoluble problem, the place of its genius is stamped upon its very terms, *ἄρμονία Λυδία*, *ἄρμονία Φρυγία*, *νόμος Ἰλιότιος*, and the rest. The medical works which we know, and which date, the oldest of them, from the Euripidean rather than from the Aeschylean age, are in prose, and have suffered every possible depravation from the hand of time, but we may be sure that the Ionian Hippocrates had precursors, and we have seen, or shall see, reason enough to believe that these students (whether their maxims were expressed in prose, or, which is not less probable, in verse) could not designate *disease* by any word more natural and characteristic than the word *πημόσυναι*. But how are we to tell that *πημόσυναι* in the *Prometheus* signifies *disease* at all? We could not tell with certainty from that one passage. In fact the received translation of *αἱ πημοσίνας συγκάμνουσαι ταῖς τοῦδε* appears to be *Ye who sympathize with his sufferings*. But the rendering *Ye who are affected with his disorder*, is equally admissible, and much more pointed. Or rather the point lies in this very ambiguity. ‘The words of Prometheus,’ says Hermes, ‘are those of one clean out of his wits; ye too are touched with his complaint: beware then lest the bellowing thunder turn your giddy heads.’ But to feel sure of this view we ought to have some independent evidence that *πημόσυναι* was distinguished from other words for *suffering* by its association with the Ionic medical vocabulary. Fortunately we have it, in a famous fragment of Euripides, cited by two authorities, Clement of Alexandria and Themistius (No. 965, Dind. ed. 1865, No. 902, Dind. ed. 1868. Is any advantage gained by such changes of numeration?)—

ὅλβος ὅστις τῆς ἱστορίας  
ἔσχε μάθησιν,

μήτε πολιτῶν ἐπὶ πημοσύνης,  
 μητ' ἐς ἀδόξους πρήξιας ὀρμῶν,  
 ἀλλ' ἀθανάτου καθορῶν φύσιος  
 κόσμον ἀγῆρων, τῇ τε συνέστη  
 [καὶ ὅπη καὶ ὅπως.]  
 τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις οὐδέποτ' αἰσχυρῶν  
 ἔργων μελέτημα προσήξει.

Now here at least is a passage in which the Ionic forms are not a matter of speculation. *πρήξιας* in 4, *φύσιος* in 5, are both of them MS. readings (see Dindorf, ed. 1868); in 3, Clement has *πημοσύνη*. In Themistius the quotation commences thus, *οἷ τε πολιτῶν φησιν ἐπὶ πημοσύνας αὐτ' εἰς ἀδόξους* (for *ἀδίκους*) *πρήξιας ὀρμῶν*. The hypothesis that *πημοσύνη* was the original reading accounts, as no other will, for these variations. Properly considered Themistius really gives us *ἐπὶ πημοσίαις*; citing a part without reference to the whole, he takes those words with *ὀρμῶν*, and alters *πημοσίαις* to *πημοσίνας*, a slight error, but an error, as we see from the context given by Clement: indeed *ὀρμῶν ἐπὶ πημοσίνας* would be rather doubtful Greek. *πημοσίαις* then and *πημοσύνη* point unmistakably to their common origin, *πημοσύνης*. (We may observe that many of these forms appear chiefly in the plural, as *εὐφροσύναι*, *τεκτοσύναι*, *ἱπποσύναι*.) All these peculiarities the editors have pruned away. But to prefer the ordinary *πράξεις* to the exceptional *πρήξιας* is clearly against the simplest principles of criticism if the Ionic forms can be justified. Justified? We ought to have put them back if the copyists had ejected every one. It is a matter of common knowledge (Ueberweg, *Hist. Phil.* § 24. *ff.*) that this fragment is an apology for the Ionian Anaxagoras of Klazomenae, and of the physical studies which he followed, against the prejudices of the Athenian public. But it seems not to have been observed how deeply the lines are coloured by the phraseology of the very 'physicians' whom they defend. We brush away *πρήξιας*, *φύσιος*, *πημοσύνη*, and regard with complacency our well-swept Attic. But we shall not so easily get rid of *μελέτημα*, Ionic as it is not in form but in substance. This exceedingly rare word is cited by lexicographers from two passages only of pure Attic literature (we shall hardly be satisfied with the loose *δοκιμασία* of Xenophon). That it

was a property, and a characteristic property, of the Ionian physicists we may learn from Plato, who, although he naturally does not use it himself, tells us plainly, if we attend, that others did. οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε θάνατος ὀνομάζεται, λύσις καὶ χωρισμός ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος; ...Λύειν δέ γε αὐτήν, ὡς φαμεν, προθυμοῦνται αἰεὶ μάλιστα καὶ μόνοι οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες ἐρθῶς, καὶ τὸ μελέτημα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, λύσις καὶ χωρισμός ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος. (Plat. *Phaedo*, 67. D.) Remembering Plato's habit of allusion, we might well suspect that beneath the words 'This *and* nothing else is the μελέτημα or study of the true philosopher' lurks the implication that other persons claiming that title had professed another μελέτημα? This suspicion will of course be immensely strengthened when we notice the rarity of the word. Now who may these persons have been? Doubtless those from whom Plato took the almost unique χωρισμός, *analysis*, the separation of elements from a compound. This, as the dictionary will show, is the true Platonic sense of χωρίζειν, and we shall not be at a loss to conjecture where the verb first took this signification when we observe that though rare and semi-technical in Attic it is used by Herodotus in a way which shows that it was for him in familiar and colloquial use. Indeed we are not left to such indirect deduction, for Anaxagoras himself, when he wishes to distinguish his own subtle theory of the ὁμοιομέρειαι from the crude analysis of his predecessors, does so in these terms, οὐ κεχώρισται τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ κόσμῳ, οὐδὲ ἀποκέκοπται πελέκει. οἷτε τὸ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ, οὔτε τὸ ψυχρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ (Fr. 13 Mullach). If time and space permitted it might be shown that throughout all the remarks on the true 'separation' and the true 'study' from which the above extract is taken, Plato has in his thoughts the language of the Ionic school and their ἱστορία φύσεως, which, as every reader will remember, he openly criticises at a later point in the dialogue (*Phaedo*, 96 foll.). Not to be wearisome, I will but point to 67 A: καὶ οὕτω μὲν καθαροὶ ἀπαλλαιπτόμενοι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀφροσύνης, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, μετὰ τριούτων τε ἐσόμεθα καὶ γνωσόμεθα δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πᾶν τὸ εἰλικρινές· τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἴσως τὸ ἀληθές. Of ἀφροσύνη in this curious physical aspect we shall hear again, but notice the last words. Since Plato, it appears, meant τὸ ἀληθές, why did he not say so at first, and why does he pretend to doubt (ἴσως) the

meaning of his own expression? Because he borrows *εἰλικρινές* from the vocabulary which he parodies, and thinks it safer to add the interpretation of his analogy. τὸ εἰλικρινές was a technical term for the ultimate uncompounded and inseparable unit which it was the object of *χωρισμός* to discover; see one example out of many in Aristotle, *Prob.* xxxi. 28, ed. Berol. 960 a 30: τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ εἰλικρινῇ ἀδιάφορα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων ἡ διαφορά. It was this very process of analysis which formed the essence of the science known as *ἱστορίη φύσιος* or *inquiry into the constitution of things*; so much so, indeed, that *ἱστορία* itself, the name of the science, almost signified such a process, as we may see from a passage like Dem. *de Cor.* 275, s. f. ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εἰ πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν. Nothing could be more disconnected, or indeed more pointless, than the concluding clause, unless we remember that to an Athenian *ἱστορία* was a term of art merely, and recognise the metaphor suggested by the use of this word and the preceding *φύσις*, *συνεσκευάσθη*, and *συντεθέν*. *What this plan was, gentlemen, in its constitution, what was the end and method of its construction, you were at the time not permitted to learn. If you will now give me your attention, you shall see an excellent piece of composition and receive an important aid towards the analysis of politics.* When therefore Euripides, speaking for the professors of the *ἱστορίη φύσιος*, protests that 'study of foul deeds to such as these shall ne'er belong,' and selects for *study* this very word *μελέτημα*, it is impossible to doubt that he is speaking not only the sentiments, but the language of his clients. What were the *αἰσχρὰ ἔργα* and the *ἄδοξοι πρῆξις* imputed by ignorance to a science much occupied with the constitution of the human body (Plat. *Phaedo*, 96 D); it would not be difficult to divine, even if Euripides did not specify in line 3 the insinuation that it was a science of murder. The student of nature learns, he says, *not with purpose to produce 'disease' in his fellow-man nor bent upon 'practices' unseemly, but gazing upon the ageless order of immortal nature, the way, the mode, the manner of its coming together.* Of course ἐπὶ *πημοσύνης* is constructed with the principal verb, as in ἐπὶ *τυραννίδι* τι ποιεῖν. *πρῆξις* and

καθορᾶν (cf. Plat. *Phaed.* l. c. 66 D, καθορᾶν τᾱληθές) cling to the language of surgery in the form of 'practice' and 'catopsis' ('a morbid intentness of vision') to this day. It is of the Doctor of Plunk that Chaucer says, 'He was a very perfet practisour.'

[I should add that ἰστορίης for ἰστορίας in 1, τῇ for πῇ in 6, προσίξει for προσίζειι, in 9, are my own corrections. The first two hardly require comment. The copy which gives us φύσιος would have given ἰστορίης if it had included line 1. πῇ . . . ὅπη cannot, it is admitted, be right, and when the semi-Ionic phraseology of the passage is perceived, my slight alteration, will, I think, be preferred to any other. I do not write κατορῶν, ὅκη, ὅκως, as it seems safer not to carry correction beyond authority.<sup>1</sup> As for προσίξει, *sits by*, if the reader finds it intelligible he will not trouble himself with my figment; if not, —ι is precisely similar to η in sound, and ξ (compare ἄρξονται —ἔξονται, *supra*, p. 267) as near as possible to ξ in appearance.]

For want of the assistance afforded to criticism by observing the occurrence of a form in -οσυνη as a trace of the author's probable train of thought, a beautiful phrase of Sophokles (Fr. 658) has, if I mistake not, been utterly distorted. It is given by Dindorf from Stobaeus in this form:—

χρόνος αὖ χρόνος ἅμα κραταιᾷ  
 θερμοσύνα βίου  
 πόλλ' ἀνευρίσκει σοφὰ μαιομένοις.

Attempts have been made to lighten the darkness of this saying by changing θερμοσύνα into χρημοσύνα or ἀρχημοσύνα. 'Si haec librarii permutavissent, actum esset de critica.' θερμοσύνα is the last word in the sentence that should be suspected, a word so rare that this is apparently the only extant example, and yet perfectly unexceptionable, for we might have safely predicted the possibility of such a form from the well-known τέρμων, a *boundary*. Yet it is clear that the idea, *ending of life*, is wholly foreign to a description of Time as the Great Discoverer. But is this the true subject of these verses? Time does, we know, bring slow revelations to the race, but it is not in this aspect only, or principally, that he presents himself to the individual inquirer. *Ars longa, vita brevis*, has been the word of searchers

<sup>1</sup> I not ὅπη, ὅπως a mere explanation of τῇ τε (dative fem. of ὅσπε) incor-

porated with the text through misunderstanding of the τε?

into nature from Hippokratēs downwards. Many are the delays which retard their efforts, and even if they partially succeed,

χρόνος αὖ χρόνος ἀμῇ κραταῖᾳ  
 τερμοσύνα βίου  
 πόλλ' ἀνευρίσκειν σοφὰ μαιομένους.

*Time, cruel Time, mows them down, with peremptory bounding of their days, while yet they yearn after rich discoveries.* The reader will not need to be reminded of Milton's 'Blind Fury with the abhorred shears.' We shall scarcely then be rash in supposing that the poem of which this fragment is left to us bewailed the burdens and crosses of the φύσις ἴστωρ, and that τερμοσύνα (or τερμοσύνη?) is to be set beside the πημοσύνης of Euripides. The resemblance of the language to Soph. *Ant.* 589—

νῦν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ὑπὲρ  
 ρίζας ὃ τέτατο φάος ἐν Οἰδίπου δέμοις  
 κατ' αὖ νιν φοινία θεῶν τῶν  
 νερτέρων ἀμῇ κόπις—

will perhaps remove doubts which have been expressed as to the authorship.

It will be convenient to take here as belonging to the topic of the Ionic medicine Eur. *Hipp.* 161. The chorus of Troezenian women are conjecturing the cause of Phaedra's sickness, of which it will be remembered that the chief symptom was obstinacy in fasting. It occurs to them that it may be connected with pregnancy or some other disorder peculiar to the sexual constitution of women—

φιλεῖ δὲ τῇ δυστρόπῳ γυναικῶν  
 ἁρμονία κακὰ δύστανος ἀμαχανία συνοικεῖν  
 ὠδίνων τε καὶ ἀφροσύνας.  
 δι' ἐμᾶς ἦξέν ποτε νηδύος ἄδ' αὔρα·  
 τὰν δ' εὖλοχον οἶρανίαν τόξων μεδέουσιν ἄστευν' Ἀρτεμιν,  
 καὶ μοι πολυζήλωτος αἰὲν σὺν θεοῖσι φοιτᾷ.

After the passages which we have just examined, the presence of ἀφροσύνη here will cause us little surprise. The connection of loss of appetite with disorders of the womb will be found noticed in the 'Hippokratēan' treatise *περὶ γυναικῶν φύσεως*, which, whatever its date, may be assumed to

represent ancient tradition, ἣν γυναῖκα ὑστέρας ἀλγέουσιν ἀσιτίη λαμβάνη, κ.τ.λ. (§ 50 ed. Littré). The word ἀφροσύνη I have not noticed there (though it is very likely to be found): παραφροσύνη however occurs several times, and I have already called attention to ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἀφροσύνη, found in Plato (*Phaedo*, l. c.) among many traces of language adapted from Ionic writers on the physics of the body. It is even more striking that the physician-poet Nikander, himself an Ionian Asiatic writing some centuries later but in thoroughly antique phraseology, employs ἀφροσύνη several times in this precise sense, *the whims of the appetite*, for example—

ἣν δέ τις ἀφροσύνη ταύρου μέλαν αἷμα πάσσηται.

*Alexipharmaka.*

ἁρμονία or ἁρμονίη again is in Attic writers a purely technical term, belonging sometimes to medicine in the sense of *constitution*, sometimes to music in the sense of *harmony* (or rather *tune*), and in Ar. *Eq.* 533, of the ‘joining’ of the musical instrument by which the tune is produced. In the Epos, on the other hand, and in Herodotus we find it applied without technical restrictions to any *joining* or *joint* (as between persons covenanting or the timbers of a ship, see Lex. s. v.), a sign that in Asia it was at home, and travelled thence with the spread of Asiatic teaching. It might perhaps be objected that in Aesch. *P. V.* 551, ἁρμονία stands for *government* (so Lex. and Comm.)

οὕπω

τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν

θνατῶν παρέξιασι βουλαί.

I should reply that such a rendering could not anywhere be more improbable than there, for παρεκβάσεις ἁρμονίας was actually a technical term of music; Aristotle (*Pol.* 43, al.) quotes it as such, and illustrates by it his own phrase παρεκβάσεις τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, *deflexions from the ideal constitution*; and this is surely an indication that if ἁρμονία ever meant *scheme of government* Aristotle was unaware or oblivious of the fact; for what could be more idle than to *illustrate* the expression *deflexion from a constitution* by another expression which meant *deflexion from a constitution*? That Aeschylus in the maxim above cited had for some reason the language of Ionic poetry in

his mind we see from the introduction of the Homeric *not yet* for *never*. Until the supposed *ἀρμονία* government is better established than it is now, I shall be disposed to credit Aeschylus with a quainter but more picturesque metaphor—*Not so soon shall the counsels of man play out of the tune of God*. But now let us return to Phædra and her friends, and let me ask the reader to notice, if he has not done so before, one of the most exquisite devices of art which poet ever employed. The Ionic language was not only the language of healing, it was also the language of worship, of those invocations or rhapsodies to the gods composed in the flowing hexameter, which must once have been a literature in themselves but are represented to us by a small and dubious collection. With admirable skill Euripides avails himself of this pre-established harmony between the tone of suffering and the tone of thanksgiving, and from 'the helplessness of travail and wood wits' passes, as by an expected modulation, into the cry of the afflicted, heard, we may be sure, not then for the first time,—

εὐλοχὸν οὐρανίην τόξων μεδέουσαν αὐτεὺν  
"Ἄρτεμιν.

The meddling of mediaeval ignorance has blurred with its *οὐρανίαν* the visible character of the hymnist's hand, but as the copyists acknowledge our title to *μεδέουσαν* and *αὐτεὺν*, we shall make bold to reclaim *οὐρανίην* too.

The occurrence here of the Ionic contraction *αὐτεὺν* will naturally direct our attention to the only other passage of Euripides in which a similar contraction has been noticed as a MS. reading, *Med.* 422. We find indeed *μυθεῦσαι* for *μυθέουσαι* from an otherwise unknown *μυθέω* in *Iph.* 4. 790, but the place (see below) is either insanely corrupt or else full of gross solecisms, and there can hardly be a doubt that it is spurious. No such objection lies against *ὑμνεῦσαι* for *ὑμνέουσαι* in the lines which follow—

τὰν δ' ἐμὰν εὐκλειαν ἔχειν βιοτὰν στρέψουσι φᾶμαι.  
ἔρχεται τιμὰ γυναικείῳ γένει·  
οὐκέτι δυσκέλαδος φάμα γυναικᾶς ἔξει.  
μοῦσαι δὲ παλαιγενέων λήξουσ' αἰοιδῶν  
τὰν ἐμὰν ὑμνεῦσαι ἀπιστοσύναν.

The reader will probably be able to recall the context. The chorus of women are anticipating the effect which the tale of Jason and Medea must have upon the comparative reputation of the two sexes in respect of truth and honour. After the signal instance of masculine infidelity displayed by Jason the world will repent of its outcry upon the falseness of the fair, and even the poets will abandon the topic. The last two lines, as a glance at the explanatory commentaries will show, have caused a great deal of trouble. For *ἀοιδᾶν* the common reading, the Copenhagen MS., of some independent weight, gives *ἀοιδῶν*. Which of these two we are to read, whether *ἀοιδᾶν* (if the overwhelming majority of MSS. be right) depends upon *μοῦσαι* or upon *λήξουσιν*, whether *ὑμνεῦσαι* is to be explained by a 'scilicet τὸ πρὶν,' or to be construed with *λήξουσιν*, and in the latter case what becomes of *ἀοιδᾶν*—upon these points there have been almost as many opinions as editors. All or almost all these difficulties are dispelled by the observation that the phraseology of the lines is Ionic *throughout*, and imitates with sarcastic purpose the diction of the rhapsodists (*ἀοιδοί*), at whom it is pointed. That the conjunction of *ὑμνεῦσαι* with *ἀπιστοσίαν* is a strong indication of some such purpose, I think I may by this time venture to take for granted. Now the phrases *ἄρχειν* or *ἄρχεσθαι ἀοιδῆς*, and *λήγειν ἀοιδῆς*, were poetical commonplaces, the *Μοῦσαι* or some other patron of poesy being invited almost as a matter of course to 'open' and to 'close' the strain. The most notorious example is the *ἐφίμερος ὕμνος* of the first idyll of Theokritus, in which Thyrsis, the 'preserver' of the sacred tradition of song (Theokr. 1, 63), invokes the Muses nearly twenty times in some eighty lines, in the earlier part with

*ἄρχετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς—*

towards the end with

*λήγετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι, ἵτε λήγετ' ἀοιδᾶς.*

We may compare the double or treble commencement of the 'Hesiodic' *Theogonia*—

1 Μουσάων ἐλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' εἰδέν,

and again,

35 Τὴν Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα, ταὶ Διὶ πατρὶ  
ὑμνεῦσαι τέρπουσι μέγαν νόον,

and again,

48 ἀρχόμεναί θ' ὑμνεῦσι θεαὶ λήγουσ' ἃ τ' αἰοιδῆς,

which last is the more to our purpose if it be, as some think, a spurious 'tag' inserted to step an imaginary gap. Other illustrations might be given. It is upon the triteness and well-known significance of this phrase that the whole point of Euripides' delicate satire depends. We must remember that in Greece the art of recitation at feasts and on other occasions was a hereditary or at least traditional art, practised by professional singers (αἰοιδοί), who handed down from generation to generation the method, the subjects, and the substance of dactylic poetry. In what tone these persons found it profitable to speak of women we see from the invective of the *Theogonia* (591 foll.).

τῆς γὰρ ὀλῳίόν ἐστι γένος καὶ φύλα γυναικῶν,

to which the editors of Euripides refer us, and which may be taken for a specimen of the vast mass of rhapsodic poetry that has perished, and indeed was never put into a form fitted for permanent existence. It is to the poets as a class rather than to any individual poet that Euripides directs this chivalrous rebuke for their attacks upon those who could not answer them in kind:

οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἀμετέρᾳ γνώμᾳ λύρας  
ᾧπασε θέσπιν αἰοιδᾶν  
Φοῖβος—

a rebuke which alone is sufficient to raise questions as to the much misunderstood 'misogynism' of the tragedian. *Henceforth*, say the Chorus, *the Muses, harping on woman's 'faithlessness,' shall 'stint' those long-descended 'lays,' for shame to find them so untrue, and thus the worn-out formula of the bards shall for once have an earnest meaning. This cruel theme has been 'their first and their last' (ἀρχόμεναί θ' ὑμνεῦσι θεαὶ λήγουσι τ' αἰοιδῆς ὑμνεῦσαι); now it shall be in a new and truer sense 'their last.'* From this point of view we can understand both the prevalent reading αἰοιδᾶν and the single variant αἰοιδῶν; αἰοιδῶν or perhaps αἰοιδέων is original, the genitive plural of αἰοιδῆ; the Greek editors supposing, as the modern have done,

that *ἀοιδῶν* in a Doric Chorus could only be the genitive of *ἀοιδός*, and seeing that 'songs,' not 'singers,' was the word required, altered it to *ἀοιδᾶν*, as in all probability they altered *ἀπιστοσύνην* and *ἀοιδήν* to the corresponding forms in *a*. We can also account for the remarkable fact that *all the MSS.* read in defiance of the metre *λήξουσιν*. It is the work of a corrector who understood the allusion and restored without sufficient reflection the dactylic rhythm. It would be out of my purpose to consider here the similar Ionic contractions in the *Prometheus Vincetus*, *εἰσοιχνεύουσιν* (122), and *πωλεύμεναι* (645). Either some reason (which I do not at present see) must exist for the use of them, or they are erroneous. If I add here that in the best commentaries upon the *Hippolytus* and the *Medea αὔτευν* and *ὑμνεῦσαι* are passed without any observation beyond a mere reference to the other real or supposed examples of the same form in tragedy, and that Elmsley himself actually doubted, as he well might, whether so strange a variation as *ὑμνεῦσαι* could be genuine, I do so merely to justify my promise that attention to the Ionic quality of *-οσυνη* would prove useful in criticism and explanation.

If any doubt could remain whether the selection of the form *ἀπιστοσύνη* was or was not deliberate, we might remove it by the unimpeachable testimony of the author himself. For Euripides was sufficiently pleased with his views upon the relations between poets and women to repeat them substantially and in part verbally in the *Ion*, where the chorus take the desertion of Kreusa by Xuthus for the text of a closely similar admonition.

ὁρᾶθ' ὅσοι δυσκελάδοισιν  
κατὰ μοῦσαν ἰέντες αἰείδεθ' ὕμνοις  
ἀμέτερα λέχεα καὶ γάμους  
Κύπριδος ἀθέμιτος ἀνοσίους,  
ὅσον εὖσεβία κρατοῦμεν  
ἄδικον ἄροτον ἀνδρῶν.

1096 παλῖμφραμος ἀοιδὰ  
καὶ μοῦσ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἴτω  
δυσκέλαδος ἀμφὶ λέκτρων.  
δείκνυσι γὰρ ὁ Διὸς ἐκ  
παίδων ἀμνημοσύναν.

We might be surprised, if we were not in possession of the key, to notice that here as in the *Medea* the sin of the traitor is denoted by a unique word of the type we are considering. Now we shall not hesitate to read the one passage by the light of the other. But it happens—and it seems likely to prove something more than a coincidence—that our clue has again led us to a place of well-known critical perplexity. It is worth while therefore to see whether the new light will help to unravel it. The chief ground of difficulty is the want of metrical correspondence. 1096–1100 answer to the first five lines of the following extract from the strophe, the subject of which is the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries.

χορεύει δὲ Σελάνα  
 1081 καὶ πεντήκοντα κόραι  
 Νηρέος, αἱ κατὰ πόντον  
 ἀνάων τε ποταμῶν  
 δίνας χορευόμεναι,  
 τὰν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν  
 καὶ ματέρα σεμνάν.

It will be seen that 1081–3 differ considerably from 1097–9, and the first question naturally is which should be altered. I will show briefly that the fault is not in the strophe. The sole word to which any exception can be taken is *χορευόμεναι* in 1084; but as this participle is quite meaningless, and no correction both simple and satisfactory has been suggested, doubt has necessarily rested upon the whole clause. I venture to think that this doubt can be finally quieted. Euripides wrote *κορευόμεναι*. *The moon, and the fifty maids of Nereus, whose maiden life is in the sea and the curling ever-flowing streams, do dance in honour of the Maid gold-crowned and Mother worshipful.* *κορεύω*, a rare and probably archaic synonym of *παιδεύω*, occurs in *Alc.* 313, *σύ δ' ὦ τέκνον μοι πῶς κορευθήσει καλῶς*; here *κορεύεσθαι*, *to live maidenly, live in maidenhood*, is parallel to *παιδεύεσθαι*, *to spend the time of childhood*, in *Ion* 952, *ἄδον δ' ἐν δόμοις παιδεύεται*, and elsewhere. I shall return to this word hereafter.

We can now proceed with more assurance to the correction of the antistrophe, observing however that we are at liberty to

scan 1083 either thus — — — — reading *ἀειδάων*, or thus — — — — reading *ἀεινδάων* (cf. *ἀειδῶν*, Aristophanes), the choice between these forms being, as a mere question of palaeography, indifferent. The corresponding line *δείκνυσσι γὰρ ὁ Διὸς ἐκ* shows that *ἀεινδάων* is the true form; again, since *γὰρ* represents a long syllable, we see that *ὁ* cannot be right. The words *ὁ Διὸς ἐκ παιδῶν* are taken to mean *he that is of the children of Zeus*, that is Xuthus, who was the descendant of Zeus in the second generation; but just objection has been made to this merely as Greek, and it is even worse when considered with reference to the context. What has this genealogical description to do with the question? It is Xuthus *the man*, not Xuthus the grandson of Zeus, whose infidelity has given the women occasion to retort. What we should naturally expect them to say would be to this effect: 'For now one of the male sex is proving himself ungrateful.' Now this is the point at which it will serve us to know the peculiar import of the form *ἀμνημοσύνη*. It is a sign namely that Euripides intends to pay the rhapsodists in their own coin. Holding fast to this clue and retracing the faulty sentence, we may perhaps see a new possibility of significance in *Διὸς παῖδες*. According to the traditional genealogy of the bards, as we see it in the *Theogonia* of 'Hesiod,' *the female sex were not children of Zeus at all*. While men, in the tables of these partial antiquaries, were allowed to trace their pedigree through this or that god up to the father of gods and men,

*Ζῆνα θεῶν πατέρ' ἣδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν* (*Theog.* 47),

women, that is the sex in general, were thought too wicked and mischievous for so respectable an origin, and were derived, according to the famous legend, from a deceitful temptress fashioned by Hephaestus to humour the wrath of Zeus against mankind (*Theog.* 570 foll.). Now this Hesiodic fable is immediately followed by the fierce denunciation of the female character to which I have already referred, and though that particular passage cannot have been intended by Euripides (for as Professor Paley observes in his note there it makes no mention of infidelity), it may be taken for a characteristic specimen, and the habitual attacks to which Euripides does

refer were probably conceived in the same vein and introduced in the same way. (It will be observed that we are in no way concerned with the genuineness of the passage cited as professing to date from the age of the historic Hesiod.) We shall restore therefore to Euripides both the required sense and an appropriate allusion if (reserving the consideration of *ó*), for *Διὸς ἐκ παίδων* we read *Διὸς εἰς παίδων*, *one of the children of Zeus*. For the palaeographical ground of this correction I must refer the reader to Cobet, *Var. Lect.*, pp. 14, 124, &c., where he will find ample illustration of the confusion between *ις* (**IC**) and *κ* (**K**). The difference between the two is a matter of hair-breadths. Of course the slight emphasis on *εἰς* and the fact that Xuthus actually traced from Zeus only improves the point. It remains to deal with *ó*, which is now more impossible than ever. Here, however, speculation is confined to the narrowest limits, for the Greek language scarcely offers a dozen words which satisfy the conditions. We require to complete the metre a short monosyllable beginning with a consonant. The problem thus presented might well appear insoluble if we were bound by the use of common Attic. It does not offer the slightest difficulty if we have been led to expect traces of Epic idiom. In the ballad poetry the force of the Latin *etenim*, or Attic *τε γάρ* (Shilleto, *Fals. Lcg.* § 176), might be given by the conjunctions in the order *γάρ τε* (see *Lexicon* s. vv., *γάρ* and *τε*). The use of this idiom here would be exactly in keeping with the context—

*δείκνυσι γάρ τε Διὸς εἰς  
παίδων ἀμνημόσυναν.*

To an editor ignorant of the principle of Euripides' Ionisms this *τε* would seem simply absurd, and the necessity of getting rid of it would facilitate the perversion of **ΘIC** into **ΕΚ**. To offer this as certain would be impertinent, but it is a new thread in an old maze, and may at least lead others to something better. That *εἰς* is the right word I am strongly disposed to believe. In 1098, as the sense is exactly right and the corresponding 1082 is completely above suspicion, I should accept the substitution of *περί* for the equivalent *ἀμφί* (Paley), though I cannot satisfy myself as to the cause of the corruption.

To one of the sources of dactylic poetry which have thus been indicated—the Epic, the Elegiac, and the Gnostic—may be assigned at the first inspection most of the examples which we have to consider. Euripides has in the *Andromache* a short passage in elegiac couplets, and in the *Troades* one still shorter in the hexameter. Both exhibit among the characteristics of their respective styles the form in *-οσυνη*—

αὐτὰ δ' ἐκ θαλάμων ἀγόμεν ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσας  
δουλοσύναν στυγερὰν ἀμφιβαλοῦσα κάρη (*Andr.* 109);

and again—

†οἱ δε ποθοὶ μεγάλοι, † σχετλία, τάδε πάσχομεν ἄλγη  
οἰχομένας πόλεως ἐπὶ δ' ἄλγεσιν ἄλγεα κείται  
592 εὐφροσύναισι θεῶν, ὅτι σὸς γόνος ἔκφυγεν" Αἶδαν  
ὃς λεχέων στυγερῶν χάριν ὤλεσε Πέργαμα Τροίας.

ὅτι (Nauck) for ὅτε is obviously right. These lines will again exemplify the necessity of tracing the *associations* which had formed about words employed by the tragedians if we would understand the tragedians themselves. In 592 the reading of the Aldine edition is εὐφροσύναισι, which was for some time accepted. Victorius in his marginal notes gives δυσευφροσύναισι (Matthiae, *ad loc.*), which being impossible may be safely accepted as a genuine extract from his MSS. The prevalent reading of our MSS. is δυσφροσύναισι; Nauck (*Studien*, p. 143) speaks of 'geringfügige Einzelheiten,' among which may be traces of εὐφροσύναισι. None, however, are noted in the books before me. That the Aldine editors did not deliberately invent εὐφροσύναισι is clear from the fact that no one has ever given a tolerable interpretation of it, the old *cum decorum lactilia* being out of the question, whereas δυσφροσύναισι, which has a semblance of meaning, may very well have sprung from a correction. It has, however, a semblance of meaning and nothing more. δυσφροσύναι is the contrary of εὐφροσύναι, and signifies *evil cheer, melancholy*, as opposed to *good cheer, festivity* (see *Lexicon*). I find no evidence whatever that either word could have any other signification. The use of the Doric form δυσφρόνα confirms it, and even δύσφρων has in Euripides no other sense than *soot*, the statement to the contrary in the

Lexicon notwithstanding. And if *δύσφρων* *hostile* were frequent in Tragedy instead of depending upon a single passage (Æsch. *Agam.* 834 is ambiguous), we might still demur to *δυσφροσύναι*, *hostility*: *εὐφρων*, *friendly*, is moderately frequent, but where is *εὐφροσύναι*, *friendliness*? The Attic writers did not form these words: *they took them from the iactant poets with their senses already deteriorated*. The proper translation of *δυσφροσύναισι θεῶν* is not *by the hostility* but *by the sadness of the gods*, which being fixed, we shall perhaps be inclined to see what can be made of *εὐφροσύναισι*. This word came by a natural transition from denoting a cheerful state of mind to denote the material comforts producing it, just as we speak in English of 'a festivity,' or 'the good cheer upon the table.' Indeed from Homer to the tragedians it has scarcely any other sense, in the tragedians no other, than that of 'festival.' Is there any reason why it should not have that sense here? These lines are addressed—in a tone of reproach (*σχετλία*)—by the captive Andromache to the captive Hecuba. They refer in an allusive way to the familiar story of Paris, his escape when exposed as a child, his judgment, and its consequences. Now the preservation of the infant Paris was connected with his 'detested bridal' by an important link, the fall of the apple in the 'fair Peleian banquet-hall,' and it was therefore, as Andromache says, *along of the gods' festival* (causal dative) that he became the destroyer of Troy. The marriage of Peleus and Thetis is not described in the rhapsodies which time has left to us, but it was part of the best known cycle, and a Greek audience must have heard a hundred times descriptions of the *θεῶν εὐφροσύναι* upon that occasion, such as Catullus gives us in a Latin dress.

Not liking to quote what I cannot construe, I am obliged to add a remark upon 590. Considering that these lines have been much talked over, it is odd if no one has fallen foul of the words *οἵ ε' πόθοι μεγάλοι*, which are not only without grammatical construction but contain the very questionable plural *πόθοι*. The evidence producible for it apparently consists of (1) *Oed. Col.* 333—

ΟΙ. τέκνον, τι δ' ἦλθες; ΊΣ. σὴ πάτερ προμηθία.

ΟΙ. πότερα πόθοισι; ΊΣ. καὶ λόγων γ' αὐτάγγελος,

itself on various grounds doubtful—*ποθοῦσα* has been suggested.  
(2) *Iph. A.* 556—

εἷη δέ μοι μετρία μὲν χάρις πόθοι δ' ὅσιοι;

of which it is enough to say that if it came from a less dubious text it would be little more to the point than the citation in the *Lexicon* from the *Philebus*, τὰς ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις καὶ πόθοις ἡδονάς, where the plural gives what is vaguely but intelligibly called a 'general' sense, 'cases of πόθος.' Considering how very common the word is in all sorts of literature, this is a slender base on which to rest οἷδε πόθοι. Moreover this nominative is, as was said, unconstruable. The source of mischief is, I conceive, to be sought in *μεγάλοι*, which has absorbed an independent syllable, like ἐπολολυξάτω (ἐπολολύξατ' ᾧ) in the uncorrected MS. of Aesch. *Cho.* 942. **ΜΕΓΑΝΩ** has been misread **ΜΕΓΑΛΩ**, and this error has drawn after it, *μεγάλον* being impossible, the attraction of τόνδε πόθον into τοῖδε πόθοι, and the separation of the first three words from the context, for in the Vatican MS. (see Dindorf's *Arr. crit.*) they are assigned to the chorus, absurdly no doubt but by no means without excuse. The step to the ordinary οἷδε would be a matter of course. I would read then—

τόνδε πόθον μέγαν, ᾧ σχετλία, τάδε πύσχομεν ἄλγη.

To dispose at once of *εὐφρόσυναι*, I will say here what need be said about Eur. *Bacchae*, 375—

τὸν Βρόμιον,  
τὸν Σεμέλας, τὸν παρὰ καλλιστεφάνοις  
εὐφροσύναις δαίμονα πρῶτον μακάρων.

Here the epithet *καλλιστεφάνοις* gives the sense of *εὐφροσύναις*—*banquet*—at a glance. The repetition of the article, by a well-known use, marks the appellations before which it stands as quoted not bestowed by the speaker (*Soph. Ai.* 726, Eur. *Hipp.* 587, *Med.* 206, &c.). I need not, however, go about to prove what no one could ever doubt, that these lines are intended to recall the titles by which Dionysus was invoked in the songs and hymns which were the chief ornament of 'crowned festivity.' Nothing therefore could be more natural than the use of the hymnic word.

Bearing this passage in mind, we will pass to a pair upon which it will throw much light. In each of the plays which Euripides wrote upon the story of the chaste Hippolytus, we naturally hear something of his *σωφροσύνη* (*Hipp.* 1365, and *Fr.* 447), though it is well worthy of attention how little we do hear. In the extant play, the speaker is Hippolytus himself carried dying on to the stage and inviting compassion for his undeserved destruction—

ὁδ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἐγὼ καὶ θεοσέπτωρ  
ὁδ' ὁ σωφροσύνη πάντας ὑπερσχὼν  
προϋπτον ἐς Ἄιδαν στείχω κατὰ γᾶς.

Looked at from the dramatic point of view, these phrases introduced with the repeated article (ὁ...ὁ) mark merely the established character, and in the mouth of Hippolytus as a *dramatis personæ* have of course no literary reference. But it by no means follows that no such reference was to be made by the audience; and we observe the presence not only of *σωφροσύνη* but of *θεοσέπτωρ*, a form, as I must here assume but may elsewhere show, assignable to the same peculiar sources. But by what channel either *σωφροσύνη* or *θεοσέπτωρ* descended we might scarcely have discovered, had we not been put upon the track by the allusion to the titles of Dionysus in the *Bacchæ*. We know that the virtues of the canonized Hippolytus—if I may venture to use a term which really conveys the force of the Greek *ἥρω*s much better than the completely different word which modern languages have made out of it—were celebrated at Troezen by a regular festival with its accompaniment of hymns, according to the promise of Artemis (*Hipp.* 1423)—

σοὶ δ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ' ἀντὶ τῶνδε τῶν κακῶν  
τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροιζηνία  
δώσω.....  
ἀεὶ δὲ μουσικοῖδς ἐς σὲ παρθένων  
ἔσται μέριμνα κούκ ἀνώνυμος πεσὼν  
ἔρως ὁ Φαίδρας ἐς σὲ σιγηθήσεται.

In fact it is more than likely that these hymns furnished Euripides with the plot of his play. Under these circumstances it

would not be a very great stretch of hypothesis to suppose without further evidence that the appeal of the dying martyr gained effect by justifying in advance the ascriptions of his worshippers, and that if we had the Hippolytean hymns we should find many preludes in such a form as this—

ἦρω' Ἰππόλυτον, σεμνὸν, θεοσέπτορ' αἰίδω  
πάντας ὅσθ' ὄρκω τε σασφροσύνη τ' ἐκέκαστο.

But conjecture becomes affirmation when we find that in the fragment of the lost *Hippolytus*, which, we may reasonably suppose, praised his σωφροσύνη as much and named it as little as the play which is left to us, the testimony cited for the virtue is that of these very rites by which it was renowned and rewarded (Eur. *Fr.* 447)—

ὦ μάκαρ οὔας ἔλαχες τιμὰς  
Ἰππόλυθ' ἦρως διὰ σωφροσύνην.

With these examples to guide us, we shall not be inclined to attribute to accident the curious difference of phraseology between the preface and the prayer which compose the speech of Antigone in Eur. *Phoen.* 185, foll. The lines are not quite clear to me in metre, but the general drift and the contrast which I am about to point out can be sufficiently ascertained—

ὁδ' ἐστὶν αἰχμαλωτίδας  
ὅς δόρι Θηβαίας Μυκήναισιν εὔχεται...  
δώσειν,...δουλείαν περιβαλὼν;  
μήποτε μήποτε τάνδ', ὦ πότνια  
χρυσεοβόστρυχον ὦ Διὸς ἔρνος Ἄρτεμι  
δουλοσύναν τλαίην.

Here, although δουλοσύναν is a mere repetition of δουλείαν (τάνδε), the word is changed in order that the religious formula of the petition may be duly concluded in religious language. To the same influence we can assign the two remaining instances in Aeschylus (*Theb.* 111, 240), though we should hardly have detected it without the previous comparison of more strongly-marked examples—

ἴω ἴω θεοὶ πολίοχοι χθονὸς, ἴτ' ἴτε πάντες ᾧδ'  
ἴδετε παρθένων ἰκέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὕπερ.

And again,

ποτίφατον κλύουσα πάταγον ἀναμίξ  
ταρβουσίνω φόβω τάνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν  
τίμιον ἔδος ἰκόμαν.

The chorus of the *Ser. a. against Thebes* exercises, especially in the earlier part of the play, a function essentially religious. The greater part of their first song is a solemn supplication for help addressed to the protecting gods of the city, each of whom is invoked with his or her accustomed titles—Διογενὲς Πάλλας, ἵππιος ποντομέδων Ποσειδῶν, Λύκειε ἄναξ, πότνια Διὸς ἑάμαρ. The commencement of the hymn proper is marked, as will be seen by a glance at the context, by the first citation, which is similar to that from the *Phoenissae* and considering the common subject of the two plays can hardly have been absent from Euripides' mind; so that here we have a commentary upon Aeschylus of the first order, and may listen to the older poet with the ear of the younger. The piety of these Theban women has a dramatic even more than an ethical purpose. Their terror is not in sharper contrast with the courage of Eteokles, than their dependent faith (θεοῖς πίσυρος, 212) with his self-reliant and contemptuous pride. In the development of this contrast (182-241) the poet has employed his utmost art. The rebukes of the prince are in the smooth iambic, while the chorus reply in the passionate rhythm of their hymn. Calmed, or rather quelled by his authority, they subside at length into dialogue, and the close of the first mood is marked by the second citation—

*Look, O our lords, upon us and upon our supplication :  
And deliver us not into captivity...  
On a sudden I heard a mingled noise, and I was horribly afraid :  
So I came up into the sanctuary, even unto the holy hill.*

By the prayer of Antigone and the prayer of the women of Thebes we may set—and the comparison will be comment enough—the thanksgiving of the old counsellors of Kreon in the

*Antigone* of Sophokles (148) for the rolling away of the same danger—

ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἃ μεγαλῶνυμος ἦλθε Νίκα  
 τῇ πολυαρμάτῳ ἀντιχαρεῖσα Θήβα,  
 ἐκ μὲν δὴ πολέμων τῶν νῦν θέσθε λησμοσύναν,  
 θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς χοροῖς  
 παννυχίοις πάντας ἐπελθῶμεν, ὃ Θηβας δ' ἐλελίχθων  
 Βάκχιος ἄρχοι.

Notice the *Ionic* 'auxiliary' θέσθε for ποιεῖσθε (Cobet, *Nov. Lcc.* 261).

A. W. VERRALL.

(*To be continued.*)

## A ROMAIC BALLAD.

THE following popular song was shown me by M. Fontrier, one of the directors of the museum belonging to the Evangelical School in Smyrna, who had heard it during a visit to Icaria in the year 1874. As the song is interesting from its reference to mediæval history, I urged M. Fontrier to publish it, but he preferred to put it at my disposal. With his kind help, which is always most generously given in everything that concerns the study of Greek, the following pages have been written. A slight account of the historical circumstances to which the ballad refers would form a fitting commentary; but materials for this are not at hand. The account given by Ross (*Reisen auf den griech. Inseln*, ii. 6, 156 ff.) of his visit to the island forms an excellent geographical commentary. M. Fontrier visited most parts of the island, and from his notes I give some additions and corrections to Ross on points connected with the ballad.

[The event referred to in the ballad seems to belong to the occupation of Icaria by the Genoese in the middle of the fourteenth century, when the island of Chios was conquered by that people, and became the property of a *Maona* or trading company, who held it for 220 years, from 1346—1566. This company soon annexed some of the neighbouring islands, and among them Icaria, as we learn from an agreement made between them and the Byzantine court in 1363, according to which the Genoese were to retain possession of Chios, Samos, Icaria, and some other places, in return for the payment of a yearly tribute. (Finlay, *History of Greece*, v., pp. 70—79;

Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands seit dem Absterben des antiken Lebens*, ii., p. 294.—ED.]

Ῥῆμα τῆς ἀλώσεως τοῦ ἀρχαίου φρουρίου δῶλον Κάστρον τῆς Ἰκαρίας εἰς τὸν  
Κοσκινᾶ τοῦ τμήματος Μεσσαρίας.

- Ἀνάθεμα τὸ Γένοβα μὲ τόνε Κρυφοράφτη,  
Ποῦ πῆγαν νὰ πατήσουσι τῆς Νικαριᾶς τὸ Κάστρο,  
Ὅποῦτον κάστρι ξακουστόν, παντοῦ ἔξακουσμένο.  
Σὰν ἦρτασι, ἐράξασι μπροστὰ εἰς τὸ Φανάρι,  
5 Ζερβὰ ρίχτουν τῆς ἄγκουρες, πίσω τὰ παλαμάρια,  
Κι' ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ὥστρια ρίχνουν ταῖς σιγουράντσαις.  
Ἐκ' ἡύρασι τὸν πόδοτα ὁποῦ καλὰ γνωρίζει.  
Τὴν νύκτα τὸ σκοπεύσασι κι' ὀλονυκτὴς ἐξάλα.  
Καὶ μέσα ταῖς βαθειαῖς αὐγαῖς ἢ ὕψηλαῖς γεμῶσαν·  
10 Καὶ σὰν ἐγλυκοχάρασσε, ἐπῆξαν ἢ Ἀτσίδαις·  
Καὶ ὅταν ἠνεφάνασι στὸν Κάμπο τοῦ Φιλίππου,  
Ἐκεῖ φωνὴν ἐβγάλασι ν' ἀκούσουν ἀφ' τὸ Κάστρο.  
Κανένας δὲν εὐρέθηκε ἀπόκρισιν νὰ πέψη,  
Μόναχα ὁ κακόβουλος ὁ γέρων ὁ Ἀτσίδης:—  
15 Ὑπᾶς καὶ θαρρεῖς, ὦ Γένοβα, καὶ σύ, ὦ Κρυφοράφτη,  
Ὅπως εἶν' τὰ δώδεκα νησὰ ὁποῦ τ' ἀχμαλωτίζεις,  
Ὅλα τὰ κάστρα πολεμᾶς καὶ ὅλας τὰς χώρας πέρνεις;  
Ἐδῶναι κάστρο φοβερό, παντοῦ ἔξακουσμένο·  
Στῆμ Πόλιν καὶ στὴ Βενετιὰ τὸ χουν ζωγραφισμένο,  
20 Στοῦ βασιλιᾶ τῆς κάμεραις τὸ χουν σταμπαρισμένο.  
Γιὰ νᾶρθουν οἱ ἐννεὶ ἀδελφοί, οἱ καστροπολεμίταις,  
Τότε νὰ πολεμήσετε νάντιπαραταχτήτε.  
Ὅλοι ποῦν' τους, οἱ ἐννεὶ ἀδελφοὶ νάντιπαραταχτοῦμε;  
Μιὰν ἀδελφὴ παντρεύουσι ἀπάνω στὴν Λαγκάδα.  
25 Τότες κι' αὐτοὶ σιμῶσασι μὲ τόση γληγοράδα,  
Γυρίζουν, τριγυρίζουν το' παραδομὸν δὲν ἔχει.  
Κι' ἕνας μικρὸς ἀπ' ὅλους των παναθεματισμένος  
Ἦτον περίσσα ἀπ' αὐτοὺς πολλὰ δασκαλεμμένος·  
Καὶ βγάλλει τὰ μαχαίργια του καὶ κάμνει τα σκαλάκια·  
30 Καὶ ὅλοι τοῦ κουλουθήσασι νὰ κάμουνσι ρισάλτα.  
Κι' ἕνα κορίτσι κάθηται ἀπανωδιὸ τοῦ κάστρου,  
Καὶ στέκει καὶ παρακαλεῖ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδιᾶς του.

- 'Αγιε μου Γεώργι Δοργανᾶ, μεγάλον τ' ὄνομά σου,  
 'Μεγάλη ποῦν ἡ χάρι σου καὶ τὸ προσκύνημά σου.  
 35 'Νὰ σύρω τὴν πλακίτσα μου καὶ πάρω δέκα κάτω.  
 Καὶ ρίχτει τὴν πλακίτσα τῆς καὶ παίρει δέκα κάτω  
 Καὶ ξαναδευτερόνει τὴν καὶ κάμνει τοὺς τριάντα·  
 Καὶ ξαναδευτερόνει τὴν καὶ 'σκότωσε πενήντα·  
 Καὶ πάλι ξανατρίτωσε καὶ πάσιν ἐνενήντα.  
 40 'Ενας ἀπὸ τ' ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοὺς Χαλικιάδαις  
 Αὐτὴν τὴν κόρην ἀγαπᾷ, μὰ κείνη δέν τον δέχει·  
 Εὐθύς αὐτὸς ἐπρόβαλλεν ἀπάνω στὸ μπεντένι :—  
 'Ἐνα κορίτσι κάθεται ἀπανωδιὸ τοῦ κάστρου·  
 'Αὐτὸ νά μου χαρίσητε καὶ 'γὼ νὰ σᾶς διδάξω.'  
 45 Κι' αὐτοὶ τοῦ ὑποσχέθησαν πῶς θὰ τοῦ το χαρίσουν  
 Κι' ἄλλα πολλὰ δωρήματα ὥστε νὰ τὼν ἀνοιξῇ  
 Καὶ τὰ κλειδιά τῶν ἔρριξε ὅξω ἀπὲ τὸ μπεντένι.  
 'Τότες αὐτοὶ ἐμπήκασι ὅλοι ἀρματωμένοι.  
 Οἱ πέντε γιοὶ τῆς Κώσταινας, οἱ Καστροπολεμίταις,  
 50 'Αρπάξαν τὴν μανοῦλάν τως· μέσ' τὸ Πριόνι πάσιν.

Anathema on the Genoese and on the Weaver-of-deceits,  
 Who went to surprise the castle of Icaria,  
 Which was a famous castle, everywhere renowned.  
 When they came, they anchored in front of Phanari :  
 On the left they throw the anchors, the cables behind,  
 And up to the South they throw the safest anchors.  
 There they found the guide who well knows.  
 In the night they reconnoitred it, and all night long they  
 marched :  
 And in the deepest of the dawn Ypselae was full :  
 And when the light was breaking, Atsidæ was crowded.  
 And when they appeared on the Field of Philip  
 There they uttered a shout, to be heard at the castle.  
 No one was found to send back answer,  
 Only the old Atsides, man of dark stratagems :  
 'You surely do not think, O Genoese, and you, O Weaver-of-  
 deceits,  
 'That it is the twelve islands that you subdue,  
 'And capture all the castles, and take all the towns ?  
 'Here is a terrible castle, everywhere renowned,  
 'In Stamboul and in Venice they have it pictured,

'In the chambers of the emperor they have it stamped.  
 'Let the nine brothers once be here, the takers of castles,  
 'Then set yourselves against them to fight.'  
 'And where are they, the nine brothers, that we may set our-  
   selves against them ?'  
 'They are marrying their sister up in Langadha.'  
 Thereupon they approached with such speed,  
 They encircled it and triply encircled it ; it finds no surrender.  
 And one little fellow accursed beyond all of them  
 Was very experienced, more than they,  
 And he thrusts in his daggers and makes them into a ladder,  
 And all followed him to make an assault.  
 And a damsel sits on the top of the castle,  
 And she stands and prays with all her heart :  
 'Dear Saint George of Dhorgana, great is thy name,  
 'Great is thy grace and thy sanctuary.  
 'Let me grasp my little slab and strike down ten.'  
 And she throws her little slab and strikes down ten,  
 And once more she throws and makes them thirty,  
 And once more she throws and killed fifty,  
 And again she threw and ninety perish.  
 One of the accursed ones of the Chalikadae  
 Loves this girl, but she does not accept him.  
 Forthwith this fellow thrusts his head forth over the rampart,  
 'A girl is sitting on the top of the castle,  
 'Give her to me, and I will be your teacher.'  
 And they promised him to give her to him  
 With many gifts besides, that he might open to them.  
 And he threw them the keys out from the rampart.  
 Then they entered all armed.  
 The five sons of Costas' wife, the takers of castles,  
 Took their mother : into (Mount) Prion they go.

The Island of Icaria, which is simply a mountain ridge stretching from N.E. to S.W. in continuation of Samos, is now divided into three districts (*καρτέρια, τμήματα*). Of these Phanari lies to the east, and Messaria occupies the middle of the island. A chain of mountains which runs transversely across the island separates them. Messaria lies on the northern, and Phanari on the southern slope. Towards the west the

island is a series of ridges and hills, which give name to the third district, *Ράχαις*, also called Parameria. The term *δῆμος* has of late been revived, and has, according to Ross, spread from Greece to Icaria, so that the districts are called *δῆμοι*, and the headmen *δήμαρχοι*. Ross must have been mistaken in thinking that a village Messaria existed. The chief village is now *Ἅγιος Κήρυκος* on the south coast of Messaria. On the mountain of Koskina in the centre of the island is a Hellenic ruin called *παλαιόκαστρο*—the castle referred to in the ballad. Inside it is a church dedicated to St. George; it is an ancient temple, probably the *Ταυροπόλιον* or temple of Diana mentioned by Strabo. Hot springs, still called *τὰ Θερμά*, on the south coast mark the place where dwelt the *Θερμαῖοι* ἐξ *Ἰκ'ρου* mentioned in the Athenian tribute lists (Franz, *Elem. Epigr. Gr.*, n. 52, p. 130). Oenoe lay on the fertile northern coast of Messaria and its name still survives in the form Na: hence came the Pramnian wine, the produce of the 'Sacred' or 'Dionysian' vine. On the north-east promontory called Drakanon or Drepanon stands a tower called *τὸ Ἱερόν* or *Φανάρι*, the Lighthouse, which has given name to the cape and the whole district along the southern slope. Its ruins were described to Ross as being still forty feet high, and in the neighbourhood are other traces of a Hellenic settlement. This must have been the ancient Drakanon. Along the summit of the central ridge are the ruins of several other small Hellenic towers, *καστράκια*, and near Oenoe are many sepulchral chambers (*θολάρια*) still perfect. There were no harbours in Icaria, but only roadsteads, the best of which was at *Ἰστοί*, the modern Eudelos (*στὸν Εὐδήλον*). During his short visit Ross had no time to see any of these sites except Therma, but gives his account from hearsay. The antiquities of this and of many other of the Turkish islands in the Aegean still present a fresh and most interesting field for exploration: and the accounts given by Mr. Newton and Ross of their travels and discoveries show how much may be expected in the parts to which their researches did not extend.

Icaria, the most barren and wild of all the Aegean islands, was not a tempting spot for settlement, and the popular dialect seems to have retained a more primitive character than any other of the modern forms of Greek. The Genoese occupation has left its traces in a number of Italian words, but Ross in his

visit of twenty-four hours was struck with a number of words peculiar to this island (*l. c.* p. 165). M. Fontrier has also been good enough to give me a list of peculiar words which he noted down during his visit to the island: of these the most interesting are *κάμπτω*, *ίστιά* in the sense of fire, and *δοξόβολο* as a rough measure of distance (apparently *δισκόβολον*). [Unless it means 'bow-shot': *δοξάρι* being modern Greek for *τόξον*.—ED.]

Genovas and Kryphoraphites had, when this song was composed, become heroic names, the leaders of the invasion. So Atsides, line 14, is also the eponymous hero of the mountain called Atsidae, line 10.

2. *πατῶ* is used in Smyrna in a friendly sense, to denote a surprise visit to a friend's house with the intention of having a merrymaking. See Coraes, *ἄτακτα* iii., s.v.

5. Ross, coming with a north wind from the side of Chios and anchoring on the southern coast, likewise had his anchor on the left, and a *παλαμάρι* fastening the stern of his vessel to the shore. The word *ῶστρια*, Latin or Italian, shows that the Genoese also must have landed on this side, having come round or past Cape Phanari with a north wind.

6. *ἄγκουρες* for *ἄγκουραις*, the common Romaic form. *σιγουράντσαις*, the Italian 'sicuranza.'

7. *πόδοτα*, an unknown word, which, as M. Fontrier suggests, may be derived from *πούς*. [Perhaps the Italian 'pedoto' or 'pedotto' = pilot.—ED.]

8. *ἐζάλα*, aorist of a verb *ζάλω*, used in Icaria in the sense of *ὀδοιοπορῶ*. The imperfect is *ἐζαλα*. The verb is not known in the lexicons. [*ζάλον*, however, is a 'step,' 'footprint'; and *ζαλοπατῶ* is to 'tread underfoot.'—ED.]

9. *γεμῶσαν*, cf. 50, *ἀρπάξαν*. There is a constant tendency in Romaic to gain uniformity of accent. *ἀρπάξαμε*, *ἀρπάξατε*, *ἀρπάξαμε*, or *ἀρπάξασι*, produce *ἀρπάξαν* also, though *ἄρπαξαν* and similar forms are also heard in the speech of the common people. In line 8, *ἐζάλα* implies a form *ἐζάλανε*. The same holds in the declension of nouns; in almost every case the accent of the accusative obtains throughout.

Ἵψηλαίς is part of the mountain range between Phanari and Messaria. Ἀτσιδαίς is a mountain in the south of Messaria. Κάμπο, a village on the north coast of Messaria, is perhaps alluded to in line 11.

10. ἐγλυκοχάρασσε for ἐγλυκοχάραξε: such forms occur in ancient times, among others, in the Argive dialect.

ἐπήξαν, from πήζω, much stronger than γεμῶσαν.

13. [πέψη = πέμψη. The occurrence of this classical word is interesting, for, though it has been preserved in the Cretan dialect, it is lost in ordinary modern Greek.—ED.]

15. μπάς for μύπως, according to the usual explanation.

16. νησά for νησιά.

20. βασιλιάς is used of the Byzantine emperor in the remarkable semi-historical ballad, Schmidt, *Griech. Mährchen*, &c. No. 59, which should be compared with the Icarian song for its mixture of historical names and love romance.

[σταμπαρισμένο = 'printed.' This seems to show that the ballad in its present form is not mediaeval.—ED.]

24. Langadha, the glen, is a place in the south-west of Icaria.

27. (ἐ)παναθεματισμένος.

31. ἀπανωδιό for ἐπάνωθι.

33. She appeals to the saint whose church was in the castle; each saint has his distinct individuality and special name in every place where he is worshipped. Here he is St. George Dhorgana.

20. ρισάλτα, Italian word. [ρισάλτα is of Italian origin, though no such word as 'risalta' seems to exist in Italian. 'Risalto' means a bastion or redoubt, and Passow thinks the Greek ρισάλτο is used in this sense in the passage *πέρνουνε καὶ κάστρα μὲ ρισάλτο* (v. *Carmina Popularia*, n. 225, l. 18. and the Glossary s. c.). But both ρισάλτο there and ρισάλτα here make better meaning in the sense of 'attack' or 'escalade.' Although 'risalto' does not mean this, 'risalire,' from which it is derived, signifies to 'mount again.'—ED.]

34. *προσκύνημα*, name given to the part of the church where the saint's picture is.

35. *πλάκα* is especially a gravestone. The stone which composes the mountain is chiefly a schist, so that plenty of *πλακίτσαις* were at hand.

42. *μπεντένι*, the Turkish word 'beden' = battlement.

49. *Κώσταινας*, a married woman is always named thus: *ἡ κυρία τοῦ δέινος* is the polite style.

50. *Πριόνι* for *Πριόνιον*, diminutive of *Prion*, a frequent name for mountains in Greece, *e.g.* at Ephesus.

W. M. RAMSAY.

BERNAYS' LUCIAN AND THE CYNICS.<sup>1</sup>

PROFESSOR BERNAYS is among the few who possess the art of writing what can be read by men of culture as well as by professional scholars and historians; a monograph from his pen is sure to be at once a real contribution to knowledge, full of striking and original suggestions, and a work of literature, written with the attention to form and finish which we admire in some of the classic productions of a former age. The present work on Lucian and the Cynics is in every respect a worthy companion to the *Theophrastus on Piety* published in 1866. Though it is shorter and less elaborate in details than its predecessor, the subject is one which allows of a more consecutive mode of statement, and has perhaps in itself a more immediate interest for the general reader. Prof. Bernays now deals with an aspect of the civilization of the Roman empire, in which he demonstrates—what to many of us, I suppose, will be a sort of revelation—the existence of a popular religious movement, distinct from the established Paganism and from the philosophies of the schools. This new interpretation of Cynicism enables us to realize the fact that the Cynic of the first and second centuries was not a philosophical oddity, to be relegated to a chapter of a history of ancient philosophy, but a religious reformer at a moment when the Greek world seemed to have lost the power of religious initiative, and the spokesman of a kind of popular opposition when opposition to the existing political order of things was least to be expected.

In reference to the book *De morte Peregrini* I may here remark, for the benefit of readers of Mr. Cotterill's *Peregrinus Proteus*, that Prof. Bernays does not seem disturbed by any

<sup>1</sup> *Lucian und die Kyniker*. Von Jacob Schrift Lucians über das Leben und den Tod des Peregrinus. Berlin: W. Hertz.

sceptical doubts as to the genuineness of the book: had the English work appeared in time to raise the question, I fancy that he would have made short work of difficulties and objections of the sort which Mr. Cotterill has found it so easy to raise.

What weight are we to attach to Lucian's judgments on his contemporaries? This is a very old literary problem, which must force itself on the attention of a critical reader of the *De morte Peregrini*. By the opportune discovery in Galen (*De methodo medendi*, xiii. 15) of a passage relating to Theagenes, who is made to play the part of second Cynic in Lucian's satire, Prof. Bernays had been able to put the problem in a light, by the aid of which we can henceforth, to a certain extent, control Lucian's statement, and see what manner of man Theagenes was in the eyes of a learned and unprejudiced physician. Writing as a physician for physicians, Galen has occasion to describe the last illness of the Cynic, whose death he attributes to the erroneous course of treatment adopted by certain of the medical men of the day. What he has to say about the man himself is all the more trustworthy from the fact of its being brought in incidentally. We gather from Galen's narrative that at the time of his own residence in Rome Theagenes, then an old man, was a familiar figure at Trajan's Gymnasium, where he was to be found daily talking and teaching, and that his life at this time was one of ideal austerity, 'without wife, child, or attendant'—hardly the sort of life that a ranting hypocrite would be likely to choose. If this is what Theagenes was to Galen, just as Peregrinus, the principal personage in the satire, seemed a 'vir gravis atque constans' to the candid Aulus Gellius, what is one to think of Lucian and the very different version he has left us of their ways and character? The account of Lucian as a man and as a *littérateur* given in these pages (p. 42 *seqq.*) is a model of literary portraiture which I commend to the careful consideration of all students of the witty Syrian. As for the hackneyed comparison between him and Voltaire, Prof. Bernays very rightly maintains that the comparison is superficial, and in every way unfair to Voltaire. Lucian lacked among other things the varied knowledge, the intellectual sincerity, the revolt at injustice and oppression of the great Frenchman; and his ambition was to end his days as a Roman official.

He attacked the failings of the gods and the philosophers, who could not retaliate, but discreetly spared the vices and prejudices of the ruling classes and the abuses of the Imperial system of government. To the public which Lucian addressed the Cynic was a disquieting social anomaly; his renunciation of worldly wealth and comfort seemed mere hypocrisy; his contempt for received standards of belief and conduct was an unpardonable offence in so conventional a state of society. Freethinking, as a mere form of enlightenment, was then as now a thing which the polite world could tolerate, but the Cynic was not a freethinker of the harmless professorial type; he was too much in earnest in his mockery of polytheism, with its paraphernalia of priests, sacrifices and oracles; he set himself up as a sort of preacher of righteousness, talked of 'freedom' in a way distressing to official ears, and did not mind speaking the truth even of the greatest. Such men were obviously an element of danger to a 'mechanical civilization' (p. 45) like that of the Empire; and Lucian as the *littérateur* of the period showed that he knew how to please the influential classes when he undertook to turn the life and death of Peregrinus into ridicule, and made it seem as though his end, so far from being evidence of honesty, were the appropriate finale of a long career of fraud and imposture.

The story of Peregrinus as told by Lucian may be analyzed into two portions—the facts, and the colouring Lucian has put upon the facts. Remove the colouring, the innuendoes, motives, and other inventions which constitute so much of the picture, and we may easily conceive the Peregrinus and Theagenes of reality to have been very unlike the pair of vulgar charlatans Lucian makes them out to have been. I must not omit to mention, however, that while thus vindicating the memory of Peregrinus and insisting on the religious and social significance of Cynicism, Prof. Bernays duly recognizes that there were Cynics and Cynics, and that the cloak of the sect might easily come to be worn as a cloak for hypocrisy. If this had not been the case sometimes, Cynicism would certainly have been a wholly unique phenomenon in the history of religions. As regards the self-immolation of Peregrinus, we know that, although ancient opinion was divided on the question of the lawfulness of suicide, the step was sanctioned by the example

of many of the philosophers of an earlier age. With Cynics, however, there was a special motive for suicide; the idea of a life of valetudinarianism was intolerable to such robust natures. Accordingly we find it intimated in the biographies of Diogenes and the semi-Cynic Zeno that they 'made their exit' when infirmity or some bodily accident came to warn them that it was time to depart. The fever which brought Peregrinus to death's door may have served to remind him of these ancient precedents. His history indeed presents some singular points of resemblance to what is recorded of the founders of his sect; and if we suppose his mode of life to have been more or less consciously influenced by a desire to imitate such precedents, the hypothesis would have the support of many analogies in the lives of Christian Saints. I would suggest, therefore, that the motives for his voluntary death are partially explained by the influence of tradition and the circumstance that he was at the time old and wasted with disease.

Of the translation of Lucian's text I need not say more than this, that it is the work of one who is a very experienced translator as well as an accomplished scholar. The notes in the Appendix are for the most part in illustration or defence of assertions made in the introductory Essay, which is thus relieved of matter calculated to interfere with the unity and consecutiveness of the main discussion.

## I. BYWATER.

## A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON CORAY.

THE publication of Coray's correspondence with Chardet de la Rochette (*Lettres inédites de Coray*, Paris, 1877) and of the little autobiography prefixed to the volume makes us pretty familiar with the circumstances of Coray's life from 1790 to 1796. But, as there are still some obscure points in his history during this period, the following notes may perhaps some day be of interest, whenever a complete biography of the illustrious Hellene comes to be written.

(1) In 1800 Coray published an edition of Hippocrates *περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων*, his letters showing that he had been for years hard at work on this author. There are probably very few in this country who know that at the time of the Revolution Coray was in constant communication with two English scholars, Thomas Burgess, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Holmes, the editor of the Septuagint; and that he in 1792 contributed to an almost forgotten Oxford publication, the *Musei Oxoniensis litterarii conspectus et specimina*, edited by Burgess, a paper of Emendations on Hippocrates. The learned Greek is thus introduced by the editor to the English readers of the *Museum*:—‘Emendationes in Hippocratem nunc editas accepi cum duobus aliis fasciculis ab auctore eruditissimo sagacissimoque, hodie medico Parisiensi, V. Cl. Corayio, qui ad prelum Oxoniense parat Observationes in omnia Hippocratis opera.’ From this we see that Coray originally intended to give us a comprehensive work of criticism on Hippocrates, and that his book was to have been printed at the Oxford Press. As regards his connexion with the Press, the register of the Delegates' proceedings would seem to be at this point somewhat

defective, for it contains only a single entry concerning Coray. The minute bears the date of February 4, 1791, and is as follows:—

‘Mr. Coray having applied to the Board to know whether they will treat with him for his *Observations on Hippocrates*, Mr. Burgess is requested to write to him for further explanation of his proposals.’

I suppose that the explanation was satisfactory, since Burgess must be understood to imply that the proposals were accepted. The reason why nothing came of them is doubtless to be found partly in the war which soon made communication between Paris and Oxford extremely difficult (see *Lettres inédites*, p. 136), and partly in the fact that Coray for some years had more pressing demands on his energies, so that the sustained attention required for an edition of a writer like Hippocrates became an impossibility. The French editors of his correspondence are aware of the existence of the ‘*Emendations*’ printed at Oxford, but only through a casual statement in a letter (p. 99): they do not seem to have heard of the more ambitious undertaking or of the negotiations with the Clarendon Press.

(2) In the preface to his edition of Xenocrates and Galen *περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνύδρων τροφῆς* (Paris, 1814), Coray speaks of certain *σημειώσεις* of his having already appeared in Cajetano de Ancora’s edition of Xenocrates. This edition was published in 1794, at Naples, and is, I believe, a rare book, at any rate on this side of the Alps: M. Brunet de Presle’s acquaintance with it is limited to what Coray himself says of it in the introduction to the Paris edition of Xenocrates. As I have a copy of the Naples book before me, I am able to give a few particulars relating to Coray’s share in it. The title runs thus:—*ΞΕΝΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΕΝΤΑΡΩΝ ΤΡΟΦΗΣ*—Xenocrates de Alimento ex Aquatilibus, cum Latina interpretatione [etc.]. Accedunt novae variantes lectiones ex codd. mss. depromptae, & animadversiones Diamantis Coray nunc primum editae; itemque adnotationes [etc.] Caietani de Ancora—Neapoli MDCCXCIV. Typis regiis.’

The volume is an octavo of 315 (xlvi + 267) pages. The value of Coray’s contribution is recognized in terms of eulogy in the Neapolitan editor’s preface (p. ii):—‘His nostris curis accessit studium ac benevolentia Domini Diamantis Coray

Smyrnaei Doctoris Medici Montspeliensis (ut ipse scripsit) Graecis litteris et omnigena eruditione instructissimi, qui petentibus nobis doctissimas in Xenocratem animadversiones concinnavit, et per Cl. de la Rochette in ordinem redactus largitus est.' I should add that Coray's notes, which occupy pp. 135—182, are in Latin: from Cl. de Ancora's language one may perhaps surmise that Chardon de la Rochette had a hand in touching up the Latinity.

I. BYWATER.

## MEDIAEVAL RHODIAN LOVE-POEMS.

THE study of mediaeval Greek literature has lately experienced a serious loss in the early death of Dr. W. Wagner, who by his *Medieval Greek Texts*, published for the English Philological Society, his *Carmina Graeca Medii Aevi*, and other works on the same subject, has deserved well of all who are interested in the writings of that period. Not the least important addition to our knowledge of this branch of literature is that which he made shortly before his death by publishing *The Alphabet of Love* (Ὁ ἀλφάβητος τῆς ἀγάπης, Leipzig: Teubner). The manuscript from which this is printed for the first time was discovered by him in the British Museum during the spring of 1878, and it contains a collection of love-poems in the usual Greek ballad-metre, which were partly arranged according to their initial letter; this system Dr. Wagner has introduced throughout, whence the name *The Alphabet of Love*. The place of their composition is shown by internal evidence to have been Rhodes, for in one of the poems the writer represents her lover, who has gone into foreign lands, as saying that he had left her in that island—

τὴν κόρην, τὴν ἐφίλησα, 'ς τὴν Ῥοδὸν τὴν ἐφῆκα.

(No. xxxii. 11.)

Their date was some time during the two centuries preceding the capture of Constantinople by the Turks; most probably in the middle or the latter half of the fourteenth century. We find in them the mention of the Turcopuls or Turkish mercenaries, who were employed by the Byzantine emperors, and of the Venetians and Genoese, who were then the most influential powers in the Levant; and the admiration expressed for

objects in the imperial palace, or in the possession of the emperors—such as the porphyry pillar, and the imperial icon of the Virgin, mentioned in the poem of which a translation is given below—seems to imply that the Byzantine empire had not yet reached the last stage of decline, and that its influence was still felt in the island. Now this was the period of the occupation of Rhodes by the Knights of St. John (A.D. 1309—1522), and consequently the cavaliers who are so constantly mentioned here are none other than the members of that military order; and the passages, like that already quoted, which imply a somewhat migratory life on the part of some of the writers, refer to their visits to Western Europe; as where one of them says—

θέλω νὰ πάγω 'ς τὴν Φραγκιάν, μήπως, κυρα, κι ἀργήσω.

(No. xxxiii. 2.)

In fact, the whole collection is the amatory correspondence which passed between them and the ladies of the island. They are 112 in number, ranging from distichs to poems of some length, for one contains more than fifty lines. Unlike most modern Greek love-poems, they are addressed as well by women to men as *vice versa*, and the compositions of the fair sex are not less impassioned than the others. In the present arrangement the poems of the two sexes are frequently made to alternate, so that a sort of amoebean character prevails. Their directness of expression, fulness of metaphor, and highly coloured diction, are thoroughly lyric; and they may fairly be described, not only as superior to anything of the kind in modern Greek literature, but as deserving a high place among amatory poems. The dialect, notwithstanding their early date, is almost pure Romaic, though here and there we meet with an unusual tense-form, and οὐ is frequently used as the negative, though not to the exclusion of δέν. With a view to popularise them, Dr. Wagner has appended a German translation throughout, in which the metre and much of the spirit of the original is retained. By means of this notes are rendered almost unnecessary, but there is a complete glossary at the end of the volume, compiled with the editor's usual care and learning; though it is difficult to understand why so many words should have been included which will be found in any modern Greek lexicon.

Though scarcely anything like indelicacy is to be discovered in the poems, yet, as Dr. Wagner remarks, they bear witness to a corrupt state of society, and to the demoralising influence of the military orders on those amongst whom they lived. This is corroborated in what we find a century and a half later in Emmanuel Georgillas' poem on the great visitation of Rhodes by the plague in 1498 (*Τὸ Θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου*), which describes the great beauty of the ladies of the island, the rich attire worn by both sexes, and their luxurious feasting. I sub-join one of the longer of the Rhodian poems together with a translation, premising that modes of expression, and transitions in sentences, which hardly seem out of place in the original, will easily be felt to be harsh or abrupt in English. It is worth while to call the attention of those who are interested in the subject to the fact that in the same manuscript volume which contains these poems (Additional MSS. No. 8241) Dr. Wagner found a mediaeval Greek *Achilleis*, which he had not time to transcribe.

- Πάντα, κυρά μου, ἐγάπουν σε, καὶ δά, ἔγαπῶ σε πλέον.  
 ἃ δὲ πιστεύης, λυγερή, κι ἃ δὲν πληροφοροῦσαι,  
 ἐρώτησε τοὺς ἔρωτες τοὺς καρδιοφλογιστάδες,  
 ποῦ βάλαν καὶ φυτεῦσαν σε μέσα εἰς τὴν καρδιάν μου.  
 5 καταπατεῖς καὶ κόφθεις τα τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιάς μου,  
 κι ὡς ἐν τῷ νύχτι καὶ τῷ κρεάς, ἔτξε ἔμαι ἔγὼ μετὰ σου.  
 κυρά μου, ἐσύ ἔσαι ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ χρυσομελιτάρης,  
 ὅπου ἔχεις κλώσματα πολλὰ μὲ σείσμαν καὶ μὲ διῶμαν.  
 ὅσοι διαβοῦν καὶ πίνουν το, ποτὲ οὐκ ἐδιψοῦσιν,  
 10 καὶ ἔγὼ, κυρά, ὡς ἔπινα, ποτὲ οὐκ ἐχόρτασά σε,  
 πάντα διψῶ καὶ ἔπεθυμῶ, κυρά μου, νὰ σὲ πίνω.  
 ἐσύ ἔσαι κίονιν πορφυρὸν ποῦ στέκει ἔς τὸ παλάτιν,  
 ὅπου κουμπίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κρίνει ὁ λογοθέτης,  
 τῆς δέσποινας εἰκόνισμαν, τοῦ βασιλεῶς ἐγκόλφιν,  
 15 καὶ τῶν ῥηγίδων ἡ τιμὴ καὶ δόξα τῶν ἀρχόντων.

- I ever loved thee, lady mine, and yet my love increases.  
If thou believ'st not, slender maid, if thou art not persuaded,  
Then ask, I pray thee, ask the Loves that fire the soul with  
passion,  
The Loves who brought and planted thee within my heart's  
enclosure.
- 5 But thou dost rend and trample down the flowers of my  
affection,  
Yet dear and near art thou to me, the nail and flesh no nearer.  
Thou art the river, lady mine, that flows with gold and  
honey,  
So many are the braided locks that wave and are thy glory :  
The passers-by that drink thereof thirst not again for ever,
- 10 But, lady, since I drank of thee, I never have been sated,  
I ever thirst, and ever long, lady, to drink thy fountain.  
Thou art the shaft of porphyry that stands within the palace,  
By which the Emperor sits in state, the Logothete gives  
judgment ;  
Thou art Our Lady's imaged form, worn on the Emperor's  
bosom,
- 15 And foreign princes honour thee, and chieftains magnify thee.

ἐσύ 'σαι τῆς νύκτας ἢ δροσιὰ κ' ἢ πάχνη τοῦ χειμῶνος,  
καὶ φέγγος ἀποσπερινὸν καὶ ἥλιος τῆς ἡμέρας,  
καὶ τῆς αὐγῆς αὐγερινὸς, τοῦ παλατιοῦ ἢ κανδήλα.  
ἐσύ 'σαι τ' ἄστρον τοῦρανοῦ, τοῦ κάμπου τὸ λουλούδι,

20 καὶ χώρα πολυζήλευτος μὲ τὸ πολὺν λογάριν,  
κι ἀπ' τοῦ ἡλιοῦ τὸ κύκλωμα ἢ μιὰ ἀκτῖνα σύ 'σαι,  
κι ἀπὸ τ' Ἀδάμου τὴν πλευρὰν ἢ μιὰ παγίδα ἐσύ 'σαι,  
κι ὁποῦ ἔκαψεν καὶ ἔμπύρισεν πολλῶν καρδιαῖς, ἐσύ 'σαι,  
κι ἀπὸ τὰ δόνια τὰ λαλοῦν ἕναν πουλὶν ἐσύ 'σαι,

25 κι ἂν πέσω νὰ ἔποκοιμηθῶ, 'ς τὸν ὕπνον μου σὲ βλέπω.  
ἀκόμη καὶ οἱ ἔρωτες πολλὰ μὲ τυραννοῦσιν·  
κυρά μου, ὅταν σὲ θυμηθῶ καὶ βάλω σε 'ς τὸν νοῦν μου,  
κλονίζεται ἡ καρδίτζα μου καὶ σείεται σὰν τὸ φύλλον,  
ἀναστενάζω ἐγκαρδιακά, δὲν ἔμπορῶ ἀπομένει,

30 ὅτι ἐσέβην ἡ ἀγάπη σου ἀπέσω 'ς τὴν καρδιά μου,  
ὥσὰν μαχαίρι δίστομον κόπτει τὰ σωθικά μου,  
τὸν λογισμόν μου δαπανᾷ καὶ ὅλα μου τὰ μέλη.

- Thou art the cooling dew of night, the hoar-frost of the  
winter,  
The moonlight of the eventide, the sunshine of the daytime,  
The planet bright that leads the dawn, the lamp that lights  
the palace.  
Thou art the star of heaven above, the blossom of the  
meadow,
- 20 A land by all much coveted, a land of many treasures.  
From forth the circle of the sun thou art the one pure  
daybeam,  
The single rib from out the side of our first father taken ;  
'Tis thou who many hearts of men with flames of love hast  
kindled,  
Among the vocal nightingales thou art a tuneful songstress :
- 25 When I betake myself to rest, e'en in my dreams I see thee.  
And many other are the forms in which the Loves torment me  
For, lady, when I think of thee, when in my mind I bear  
thee,  
My heart of hearts is deeply moved, it quivers like an aspen,  
My inmost breast is torn with sighs, I can no more endure it,
- 30 For that thy love has found its way into my soul's recesses,  
And like a sharp two-edged sword cruelly rends my heart-  
strings,  
And all emaciates my limbs, and robs me of my reason.

H. F. TOZER.







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